

DIDACTICS:

SOCIAL, LITERARY, AND POLITICAL,

BY ROBERT WALSH.

Faith, without intermission, and with what good and sever, to think justly, act uprightly, and live nobly. For the accomplishment of those great ends of rational being—which constitute, in fact, the main securities of worldly happiness—are indispensable a religious consciousness, an enlightened judgment, a firm basis for an active spirit, and the habit of cautious discrimination.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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D I D A C T I C S .

M A N N E R S .

ON this subject many treatises, grave and gay, have been published, in all languages. Some thirty or more years ago, everybody read "Lord Chesterfield's Letters;" with more profit to the minor than to the greater morals. Such books as "The Complete Gentleman," "Casa's Treatise," "The Courtier's Guide," &c. &c. have also been in great vogue, but, superseded of late years, by countless epitomies and manuals. Among those of recent date, the very best, in our humble estimation, is the "Parisian Madame Celnart's Code of Politeness," of which the good Boston translation has passed through a second edition.

The object of the lady is to teach youth of both sexes "propriety of deportment," that is, according to the highest authorities and practice of the French capital, where the *bienséances*, the rules of good-breeding, are supposed to be better understood than elsewhere. It may be a matter of some curiosity, as it is certainly instructive, to know what are the views and reasonings of an accomplished lady of Paris on this important and copious subject, and what she deems to be the received canons and approved usages of the French *haut* or *bon ton*. We

are tempted to cite some of them. It is not our main but a part of our design to give hints to American "youth of both sexes;" it is possible that French example and doctrine, sound in themselves, may not in every instance be American practice.

* We shall digress from them to American habits, as far as our present limits will allow.

We begin with a general definition of politeness, which is pronounced to be "the desire of pleasing those with whom we are obliged to live, and in a manner causing all around us to be satisfied with us—superiors with our respect; equals, with our esteem; and inferiors with our kindness." Politeness is the reverse of narrow and vulgar selfishness—of the indulgence of our animal nature in social intercourse. It is, however, sound policy, general expediency, on the whole and in the end. All gain by it in externals, as well as by the consciousness of delicacy and refinement. Benevolence is its main spring: order and harmony, mutual good will and general comfort are its results. "Excessive gaiety, extravagant joy, great depression of spirits, anger, love, jealousy, avarice, and, in fine, all the vehement passions, are dangerous shoals to propriety of deportment." Moderation is essential, therefore: there must be self-command and self-denial; so that manners are in fact morals. "In an assembly of truly polite people, all evil seems to be unknown; what is just, estimable and good, or what we call fit or suitable, is felt on all sides;—actions and language alike indicate it. A stranger to the advantages of a polite education will feel at once the grace and value of urbanity, if he has any natural justness of thought and sagacity in observation." Let us now go into some details.

Whoever enters a church, during divine worship, should conform to the general ceremonial; preserve an

air of respectful attention, and consult in behaviour what may be presumed the feelings and objects of the congregation. She condemns all raillery, even in the ordinary intercourse of the world, against any religious observances; she would rigidly exclude from the mouths of her own—the *pious* sex, all levity, and above all, infidelity, on religious topics; as she would oaths, invectives, *doubles entendres*, and so forth. With regard to the treatment of parents by children, she says—“We ought always to address them in a respectful and kind tone; to anticipate them in everything; to ask their advice; to receive their reproofs with submission; to be silent with regard to the errors they commit; to show them a lively gratitude on every occasion.” As to the relation of husband and wife, she begins with a reproof—“You use all your exertions to please the world which you see only cursorily, and in which you have power to procure only a few moments or hours of pleasure, and you neglect to be agreeable to your husband and wife, with whom you expect the happiness of a whole life.” She prescribes it as important—“To dress with neatness and elegant simplicity even at home; to entertain with particular kindness the friends of the person with whom you are connected by marriage; never to pry into each other’s little secrets; to consult each other’s inclination and sentiments in small as well as great concerns; to make perpetually mutual concessions; to abstain *in public* from every mark of affection too conspicuous, and every exclusive attention. Married or betrothed persons, who, in society, place themselves continually near one another, and who converse much and dance together, do not escape ridicule, though their own feelings blind them to the penalty.”

With regard to the treatment of domestics, Madame Celnart has it that courtesy is to be observed towards

them; that an expression, a gesture, or at least a look of thankfulness is due every time they render a service; that it is necessary to show them indulgence frequently, in order to be able to rebuke them efficaciously; that servants, treated with suitable civility and regard, are likely to be grateful, zealous, and useful in the desired degree and modes. Neatness in apparel, civility between themselves, and attentiveness and deference to *all* your visitors, are to be exacted from them invariably.

Ladies and gentlemen, both, are advised to impose on themselves a rule to be dressed at some particular hour of the morning, (the earliest possible) in order to be prepared to attend to duties down stairs to see visitors or persons on business. A late dishabille is a slovenly habit, which interferes not only with politeness, but duties. Neither hot nor cold weather excuses it—not even a novel or chamber-gossip. And the parlour is indicated as the place for the ladies, particularly the young, when they have not material domestic occupations, or calls of study and business up stairs. Appearance abroad in the morning in any other than a neat and tidy dress, or an elegant and simple *negligé*, is not tolerated. "Every one knows," adds our author, "that, whatever be the fortune of a *young* lady, her dress ought always, in form as well as ornaments, to exhibit less of a *recherché* character, and should be less showy than that of married ladies. Costly cashmeres, very rich fûrs, and diamonds, as well as many other brilliant ornaments, are forbidden to a young lady. Dress should, too, be regulated, be simple or rich, according to the general estimation of the means of the lady. In no case, should *old* ladies use gaudy colours, *recherché* patterns, very late fashions, or gorgeous ornaments. If obliged to wear wigs, they should avoid hair, too thick, or too full of curls."

Madame Celnart lays the utmost stress upon the greatest possible care of *reputation*. She prescribes, therefore,—not prudery or cold reserve,—but guarded and disciplined conduct—more expedient in cities and all large assemblages and public places than elsewhere. The restraints imposed on girls or young unmarried ladies are severer in France than in Great Britain or America. “A lady ought to have a modest and measured gait; too great hurry injures the grace which ought to characterise her; a flaunting carriage betrays *étourderie* or boldness; she should not turn her head on one side or the other, especially in large towns, where this habit seems to be an invitation to the impertinent; towards evening, she should never go alone, nor ever, of course, return unattended at night, from a visit. All numerous grouping and loud talking in the streets must be avoided.”

The conduct of Shopkeepers and Customers,—a subject possessing more or less interest in town and country, and in which nearly every inhabitant of a city is more or less concerned. The lady affirms what experience every where sanctions, that “politeness in shopkeepers is a road to fortune;” and she adds that the greater part of them understand this,—“especially at Paris, where we find particularly the model of a well-bred shopkeeper.” Patience,—the spirit of endurance,—seems to us to be a desirable quality, as much as a ready, courteous and active attendance. There is a severe trial in the department of lounging and haggling customers,—of persons who examine and throw about goods merely from curiosity, without the intention or means of purchasing any; who use supercilious airs with the venders; who are heedless what trouble they may give them in rolling or folding up or putting in order what has been idly opened and jumbled.

It may be inferred from Madame Celnart's recital of particulars, that the grievances or miseries of the shop-keeper are nearly the same the world over,—in all towns at least; and that they must be brooked, for if the person behind the counter, male or female, looks gruffly or shows resentment, custom vanishes;—the visitor who gives the provocation, complains abroad, and the evil report spreads. Forbearance, compliance, insinuation, are the *golden* rules. The Paris lady allows, however, some latitude. “If the purchaser be difficult to suit, capricious, ridiculous, or even disdainful, the shopkeeper ought not to appear to perceive it; he may, indeed, in such cases, show a little coolness of manner.”

In Paris, there is an excess of snavity and accommodation; the vender may often be thought officious and servile: and it is but too common there to ask prices considerably higher than those meant to be taken. The subdued attentions and fixed rates in London are more satisfactory. In the United States, the storekeeper and the mechanic have a social rank and general intelligence so much beyond the European, that they may well be, in tone and carriage, as they are in their circumstances and prospects, more independent and less obsequious. But it should not be forgotten that an obliging manner, a pleasant countenance, and *moderation* in every respect must attract, and the opposite traits estrange purchasers, in every country. The intrinsic superiority of stuff or manufacture does not alone obtain success—perhaps, not chiefly. There is much in the repute of cheapness; yet this comes soon to be pretty well understood as no very material advantage, where shopkeepers are generally diligent and respectable and possessed of some capital. *Underselling*, at the risk or with the certainty of loss, is a miserable expedient, which it is not, properly, the interest

of any community to encourage:—high prices not unfrequently give assurance of superior quality, better fashion, greater variety, of choice or care and skill in selection, and other recommendations which compensate for the additional cost.

Persons in office should be polite to all who have business with them; though, as they receive salaries, they may have no expectation of further gain. In a republican country public functionaries being the stipendiaries and servants of the sovereign people, constant civility might be thought due from them, even in post-offices. At the same time, allowance is to be made, in consideration of the pressure of their duties, the number of calls to which they may be subjected, and the unreasonableness of those visitors whom our Paris lady terms ridiculous—persons who wish to enter into general conversation, to talk widely of their own affairs, of news, politics, with public functionaries or other men of business in hours of official or professional employment. The public is often robbed of its due by gossip and idle visits; and we have known, in more than one instance, a stage to be overset and bones to be broken, because a traveller pleased to pursue, with the coachman on his box, a conversation that diverted the attention of the latter from the road and his horses. A little worse than this is the conduct of the passenger who gradually makes the driver tipsy, by *treating* him at the taverns, and thus exposes the necks or bones of all parties.

By the way, a whole and long chapter might be written on propriety of deportment in public coaches and steam-boats. In these vehicles it is that we should especially remember that true politeness requires us to abstain from consulting our own convenience or that of our *party*, in a way which annoys the rest of the company; and that

our proceedings at table, and at night, should be as guarded, in respect to *bon ton* and mutual accommodation, as in a fashionable drawing-room. Those who are not well-bred in all situations,—who do not practice self-denial, the essence of politeness, everywhere,—will not be perfect in manners anywhere. Unremitting habit of refined courtesy and self-watchfulness is the characteristic of the complete gentleman or lady.

European tourists universally remark the tumultuary eagerness with which, in American steam-boats, most passengers of the male sex rush to the meals; and the exclusiveness, hurry, and voracity with which they eat; and the indifference which is shown at night to the general comfort,—some remaining up and talking very loud, in the cabin, or drinking and smoking, while others attempt to sleep during the hours properly assigned to rest, &c. On deck, or in the cabin, worthy folks do not hesitate to take up a book or journal, which a passenger has provided for his own lawful gratification, but which he happens to have laid down, or left on his seat for a moment; and he is then left to beguile time as he can, and look wistfully at the happier mortal who has become most deeply engrossed with his intellectual store.

Foreign observers complain of a similar neglect of the *Manuals of Good Society*, in American boarding-houses and watering-places. They assert that the discipline which is indispensable, in every such establishment, for the proper management of the household, and the general comfort, is too often violated; and this principally by the ladies. Some, they say, will keep too late hours at night, down stairs or up; and their vigils are even noisy, so as to deprive the elderly or sober or valetudinary inmates, of their rest: moreover, the same and others will not consent to be ready at the stated periods of the repasts,

and then either the company are kept standing and fasting, or the meals of the servants and the whole business of the house are kept back and deranged, &c.

Madame Celnart is minute touching deportment at balls, concerts, public shows, and theatres. "For balls," she observes, "we send the invitations a week beforehand, that the ladies may have time to prepare articles for their toilet." An incidental dance, or a mere *hop*, does not require such note of preparation. On great occasions, the request must be in writing and in the third person. On others, verbal invitations or familiar billets are best. Late arrivals, though fashionable, are not commended, particularly in the case of concerts, as the music may be marred by the bustle of entrance. Asking partners at balls is a delicate affair, which must be so managed that a gentleman does not impose himself upon a lady as a partner, or give umbrage to those who see another preferred to them. Ladies ought not to engross the floor or take an undue share of the dancing, however fortunate they may be in the number of applicants for their hand.—"Ladies who dance much, ought to be very careful not to boast before those who dance but little or not at all, of the great number of sets for which they are engaged in advance. They should also, *without being perceived*, recommend the less fortunate ladies, the *wall-flowers*, to gentlemen of their acquaintance." Madame Celnart prescribes some hard rules, such as—"persons who have no ear, or a false one, for music, should refrain from dancing,"—"never take part in a quadrille unless you know how to dance tolerably." And we may be surprised at the following language from a Parisian dame. "The waltz is a dance of quite too free a character; unmarried ladies should refrain from it in public and private: very young married

ladies, however, may be allowed to waltz in private balls, if it is very seldom and with persons of their acquaintance."

At public or private concerts, gentlemen, both young and elderly, must beware of standing before the female ~~auditors~~, so as to obstruct sound or vision ; of crowding near the singer or other performer, lest the same bad effect should be produced, or the diffidence of the performer be alarmed. When a lady is at the instrument, it is *bon ton* for some *one* gentleman or lady who reads music well, to stand behind the chair and turn over the leaves attentively.—"In private concerts, the ladies occupy the most convenient seats for seeing or hearing, and the gentlemen are generally in groups behind them, or aside and near the walls, so as to give scope to sound and sight. Every one should observe perfect silence, and refrain from beating time, humming the airs, clapping or *bravoing*, or making ridiculous gestures of admiration!" In theatres, according to Parisian notions, profound silence is to be observed during the performances ; the back is never to be turned to the stage ; ladies always have the front seats; nothing is to be done which may interrupt the attention of persons who take an interest in the drama or music. As for eating, loud talking, loud laughing, fidgeting, nodding—all these acts are proscribed as absolute solecisms in the polite world.

The lady furnishes rules for most of the social relations, including such as those of the lawyer and client ; physician and patient ; artists ; authors ; ecclesiastics. She thinks it a very difficult thing for *lawyers* to be courteous and amiable in their offices, owing to the scenes and customs in the courts, and the nature of their business. *Clients* are apt to be importunate, tedious and unduly excited. Well-bred lawyers, nevertheless "rise to salute

their clients ; offer them a seat ; conduct them to the door when they take leave, and observe the distinctions due to sex, rank and age." And well-bred clients do not obtrude on the counsellor too often, or remain with him too long ; for his time is precious and his patience not inexhaustible. The *physician* is generally kind and polite ; to him " frequent and heartfelt thanks are to be paid ; his office is painful,—his service endearing and indispensable. He is often, not only a skilful assistant but an inestimable adviser and friend. He must be spared long stories, idle wailings and unnecessary calls.

The treatment of *Artists*, according to the Book, requires caution and discernment. They are prone to jealousy and umbrage ; they will not be admired and welcomed for their talents alone. " To please an artist, it is necessary to flatter at once his taste, his self-esteem, and his success in his art." He, however, who is acquainted with *bon ton* claims no more attention than is bestowed on the rest of the social circle ; moves as if he understood that he is considered as an equal ; and never refuses to exercise his peculiar talents when he is expected to do so, and can without inconvenience. He should avoid a display of caprice or affectation of inability or reluctance ; because, besides depriving others of a gratification which procures him regard and acknowledgments, he thus reminds them more of his distinct profession. To be valued, even, in social meetings, chiefly on account of his peculiar talent, ought not to be viewed by him as a derogation. Most members of society who are sought with special earnestness, or seen with special pleasure, owe this advantage to the profession of some peculiar accomplishment or distinction. Happy are those who can contribute in a way not common and very efficacious, to the greater enjoyment and animation of refined social in-

tercourse! Real considerations will always be yielded to real worth, and real superiority of talents and manners. But to eminent moral qualities, great intellectual powers and culture, and elevation in the learned professions and public trusts, more homage and deference will everywhere, in the great world, be commonly paid than to artists of merit, merely as such.

Madame Celnart condemns harshness and austerity as well as levity of manner, in *ecclesiastics*. "A mild gravity, a moderate gaiety, a noble and affectionate urbanity—these are the traits by which they should be distinguished." There are some who are addicted to dogmatism and rigidity of tone; others, to constant and broad facetiousness;—but these are not the most exemplary and successful in their vocation. With respect to military men, they are supposed to be studious of all the *bienséances*; they never swear, swagger, or take airs of command and battle, in social life, they are gentle and civil in proportion to the roughness and authoritative style of their professional duties. Young officers who are boisterous and forward show that they have not completed their education as gentlemen. We are told to be ware of giving to military men titles inferior to those which they really bear. It is always to be presumed that the one whom we address, is at least a *Captain*: *Major* is the usual American standard.

The science of *visiting* is vastly important, and fraught with rigid maxims. Ordinary morning calls should be as short as practicable;—a quarter of an hour is long enough, and, to retire, advantage should be taken of the entrance of other persons. Cards need not be left for particular friends, unless the servants be absent; with relations and intimate acquaintances no regular account of visits should be kept. The one who has most leisure calls upon the

one who has less, or whenever it may be supposed to be agreeable. Accounts should be kept of visits of ceremony, and the intervals remembered at which they are returned. Madame Celnart decides that it is bad ~~for~~ to keep the cards you have received, around the frame of a looking-glass. "Such an exposition shows that you wish to make a display of the names of distinguished visitors. If, during the year, your glass is always seen bristling with smoke-dried cards, it will be attributed to vulgar ostentation."

In visiting, a gentleman presents himself, with his hat in his hand; nor does he ever lay it down until requested to do so by the gentleman or lady of the house. Upon both of these, it is incumbent to rise from their seats when a visitor enters, except for those to whom great familiarity of manner is not understood to mean anything but familiar and affectionate acquaintance. If the person you call upon is preparing to go out, or sit down at table, you must retire as soon as possible. "To carry children or dogs on a visit of ceremony, is altogether vulgar and provincial. Even in half ceremonious visits, it is necessary to leave one's dog in the ante-room, as well as the nurse who holds the infant. *As to animals, it is a thousand times better not to have them at all.*"

The less the bustle, bowing, and ceremony with which you retire, the better. *French leave* is nearly always the best. In receiving visits, the prime rule is "to consider that people be satisfied when they leave you, and desirous to come again." If any one wishes to refresh himself, he requests the mistress or master of the house to allow him to ring the bell. After assent is given, he asks of the domestic who comes, whatever he wants. In winter, in Paris, the places of honour are nearest to the sides of the fire-place. No gentleman takes a seat on either side of

to a lady without being requested by her to do so. No lady gives her attention exclusively to one gentleman or lady, when there are more than one present. Marked distinctions between admitted visitors are wrong. The host does not take too large a share in the conversation, but rather listens when the visitor or guest will talk. That humour, pride, or self indulgence, which might be gratified abroad, must be carefully avoided in one's own house, in relation to guests or strangers.

Touching the *carriage of the body*, Madame Céhart's prohibitions are many and peremptory. We annex a part of them:—

"To look steadily at any one, especially if you are a lady and are speaking to a gentleman; to turn the head frequently on one side and the other during conversation, to balance yourself upon your chair; to bend forward, to strike your hands upon your knees, to hold one of your knees between your hands locked together, to cross your legs; to extend your feet on the auditors, to admire yourself with complacency in a glass, to adjust in an affected manner your cravat, hair, dress, or handkerchief, to remain without gloves; to fold carelessly your shawl, instead of throwing it with graceful negligence upon a table, &c., to fret about a hat which you have just left off; to laugh immoderately, to place your hand upon the person with whom you are conversing, to take him by the button, the collar of his coat, the cuff, the wrist, &c., to seize ladies by the waist; or to touch their person, to roll the eyes or to raise them with affectation; to take snuff from the box of your neighbour, or to offer it to strangers, especially to ladies, to play continually with the seal of your watch, a chain, or a fan, to beat time with the feet and hands; to whirl round a chair on one leg, to shake with your feet the chair of your neighbour; to stroke your face, rub your hands continually; wink your eyes; shrug your shoulders; stamp your feet, &c.;—all these are bad habits, of which we ought never to speak to people, among those who are witnesses of them, and are in the highest degree displeasing.

"Propriety in the carriage of the body is especially indispensable to ladies. It is by this that, in a walk, a ball, or any assembly, peo-

ple who cannot converse with them, judge of their merit and their good education. How many dancers move off, and how many persons sigh with pity, at the sight of a beautiful woman who has a mincing way, affects grace, inclines her head affectedly, and who seems to admire herself incessantly, and to invite others to admire her also. Whoever makes up his mind to enter into conversation with an immovable lady, and one who is formal and precise, lengthening out the body, pressing the lips, and carrying back the elbows as if they were fastened to her side?"

"It is not in good *ton* for a lady to speak too quick or too loud. When seated, she ought neither to cross her legs, nor take a vulgar attitude. She should occupy her chair entirely, and appear neither too restless, nor too immovable. It is altogether out of place for her to throw her drapery around her in sitting down, or to spread out her dress for display, as upstarts do in order to avoid the least rumple.

"But what is especially insupportable in this *sex* is, an' inquiet, bold, and imperious air; for it is unnatural, and not allowable in any case. If a lady has cares, let her conceal them from the world, or not go into it. Whatever be her merit, let her not forget that she may be a man by the superiority of her mind and decision of character, but that externally she ought to be a woman! She ought to present herself as being made to please, to love, and to seek a support; a being inferior to man, and near to angels. An affectionate, complying, and almost timid aspect, a tender solicitude for those who are about her, should be shown in her whole person. Her face should breathe hope, gentleness and satisfaction; dejection, anxiety, and ill-humour should be constantly banished."

If our lady author should ever travel through the United States, she would, we fear, have very frequent occasion to complain of the practices just enumerated, notwithstanding the currency which the American press will not fail to obtain for her *Book of Politeness*.

Conversation is a fruitful theme for the *arbiter elegantiarum*. Madame Celnart advert's to several "physical observances," such as—clean teeth; expression of the face; management of the mouth and tongue; proximity of the head greater or less; loud laughter; gestures and general position and attitudes. She admires the talents

of listening—the habit of strict attention to the person who speaks; and correctness of phraseology, without “pedantry in pronunciation.” She prescribes that you must listen to a story a second time, as if you had never heard it; and when you have anything good to relate consult less your own desire to tell it than the wishes of others to hear you. “Lawyers, literary people, military men, travellers, invalids and aged ladies, ought to have a prudent and continual distrust of the abuse of digressions.”

By *good society* we do not mean any particular coterie, or exclusives of fashion; but every circle wheréin claim is preferred to moral worth, intellectual culture and refined manners. Sound conventional rules of demeanour being rendered common to all respectable circles, there will be less pretension or right to superiority in any;—all will compose the *haut ton*, that distinction which is so often thought equivalent to any advantage of mere opulence, and worthy of the most persevering pursuit.

In Paris, according to Madame, a lady does not say *my husband*, except among very intimate acquaintances. She speaks of him and addresses him by his proper name, *Mr. &c.* No gentleman says to a lady *your husband*, but *Mr. &c.* It is an “axiom,” that, in conversation, we speak as little as possible of ourselves, and as much of the other party and all that interests that party directly. Whatever you relate, you must never use phrases which imply that you suppose your veracity may be doubtful. Dispute rarely or never;—yield, with a good grace, when you find yourself wrong; yield also, though you be right, when the point is of no great moment, and, always, when your opponent is a lady. Abstain from all discussion—of course possessed by the spirit of contradiction—of indulging keen sarcasm or severe raillery; *mevolence* is the opposite of politeness:—*stinginess*

pleasantry, or pungent wit, prevents social intercourse and makes enemies. Sportive humour, that is kind and occasional, may be indulged. We are apt to banter those whom we particularly regard. *Hoaxing* is vulgar and foolish, *persiflage* is a bad habit, but sometimes serves as a salutary corrective of the impertinence of coxcombs, and the presumption of dunces. As for indecent writings, no true gentleman or lady will hazard them anywhere. There are delicate shades of character which distinguish both and to which attention is due in every situation lest they should imperceptibly be lost. To shine by eloquence or repartee, or smart talk, in society, is of less consequence, than to maintain an invariably refined and amiable tone. Diversify your topics with ladies, they have too active an imagination and too versatile a spirit to support conversation for a long time on the same subject.

It is sometimes in incivility, a want of delicacy, to pay postage when we write to a friend, an acquaintance, or to persons of small fortune whose feelings may be wounded. We should pay, when we write to strangers upon our own business, or to ask a favour. In Europe, an envelope and sealing-wax are deemed indispensable for letters of form or addressed to persons to whom we would show particular respect. "If a person brings you a letter you should not be in a hurry to open it, but see whether it concerns the bearer at all, or only you self. In the first case you should open and read it while he is present, in the other case, you should lay it aside."

Present should be made with a little mystery, so as to excite pleasure and surprise. When made, nothing should be said by the giver to draw attention to them, or render them of any consequence. The satisfaction or complacency with which they may have been received, is full

requital. We should not refuse arbitrarily or prudishly what is offered from good-will and without ostentation. Simple and gracious acknowledgement is enough. To ladies, the most suitable presents are elegant and entertaining volumes; bouquets or plants; music; engravings; fancy articles for the toilet, and so forth. Address objects, as much as you can, like your discourse, to their understanding and taste. Make what you offer or what you say, as frequently as you can, a means of their improvement, without seeming to have that aim directly. Conversation occupies a large share of the time of the fashionable world in particular; those are not faithful to their own interests and duty, who do not endeavour to convert it into a beneficial exercise for their minds and hearts. Perpetual light gossip fritters away the intellect and dissipates sensibility. Excite others from time to time to serious and instructive remarks; by degrees, you will come to relish them; they will fructify in your thoughts when you retire.

Do not obtrude advice; when it is *asked*, give it frankly; be candid, let the consequences be what they may. Zeal in the cause of a friend when counsel or aid is solicited, has a lasting effect upon his gratitude. Indifference, on the other hand, or timidity, disgusts and estranges. Moral courage is a trait of which respect and regard are the certain rewards. Secrets are not to be explored; but when discovered or divulged in professed confidence, they must be religiously kept. It is incredible how much mischief and injustice is done by disclosing to *one* acquaintance in the family circle, what has been thus learnt. When we do not, ourselves, practise perfect discretion, how can we expect it in others; and when we once set a secret of our friend afloat, how do we know where it will stop, or what shape may not be given to it? Polite

fellow-travellers give as little trouble and as much assistance to their companions as they can. Ladies are to have every advantage and accommodation; but on their part, "they ought not to require too much, nor put the complaisance of gentlemen to a severe test." The *Escorted Lady* of Miss Leslie is an admonitory and amusing, though exaggerated picture. In general, the female character, in our country, is not at all prone to the extortion of civility, or inordinate demands; but rather, to make sacrifices or show passiveness. The sense of gallantry, that is, polite devotion to the sex, is common and active with all classes of Americans. Females have greater security in all public conveyances and promiscuous assemblages, in these United States, than in any other country whatever. They can protect, if they will respect themselves, in almost every instance.

We have known very estimable and modish folks who needed, at times, mementos such as the ensuing—"When we intend giving an entertainment, we begin by selecting such guests as will enjoy themselves together, or at least tolerate one another."—"When we receive a written invitation, we must answer immediately whether we accept or not, although silence may be considered equivalent to an acceptance."—"Having once accepted, we cannot break our engagement unless for urgent cause."—"An invitation specifies the hour of meeting, and you should arrive at that hour or very little later."—"We should avoid putting next one another, two persons of the same profession, for that results in *aside* conversation, which always interferes with general conversation and general conviviality so much to be desired at table."—"Remove near relations and cronies as far from one another as possible."—"Guests are never to be urged to eat, though a dish of particular *gouf* or which they are known to pre-

fer, may be pointed out to them."—"Singing at table after dinner is never practised in houses of people of fashion." Madame states that each guest should pay a visit to the hosts during the week which follows a grand entertainment. This attention is called *visite de digestion*.—"When your acquaintance are ill, you should regularly send a domestic to inquire after their health, every day or every other day, according to the severity of the illness." We do not quote any of the *vises* or white lies which the Parisian monitress recommends, because we think that they are far from being essential to *Politeness*, and we recollect that Mrs. Opie has written a book against them, which might then be opposed to our book.

"The very principle of good breeding, in social intercourse, is to care for every body. This disposition is distinct from servility, or officiousness; there is no danger that it will degenerate into either, among those who merit the appellation of *gentlemen and ladies*, especially in this country; it is by no means incompatible with a liberal independence of character, and unconstrained democratic satisfaction and the desire to please, should be the feelings, if any, visible in the carriage of every person who goes into company; and indeed, every one who does, must be dependent, more or less, for gratification, upon the associates. Where the "I care for nobody" air is worn, it usually proceeds from uncouth affectation or undiminate pride—it is a distinguishing trait in the deportment of our Indians, and appertains rather to barbarism than civilization. ~~Indulged~~ bluntness and indifference are too often traceable to vanity, superciliousness and a sullen temper. A correspondent tells us that he often reveres to the good old times when the wives of the most opulent citizens went to market with a *short gown and clean*

check upon. He thinks that he has never seen the women look *so handsome* as in those days. This kind of partial recollection is common and natural; but with all due deference, we venture to believe that the ladies of the present day may be excellent housewives without going to market in the attire which is so pleasant to his fancy, that, in general, they are not wanting in the domestic qualities and accomplishments, and that their fashions, both of morning and evening, are as well fitted to set off their beauty, as the costume of their respectable grandmothers. On the whole we honestly doubt whether more time is wasted now by even the fashionable part of the sex, than of yore, and if there has been any reprehensible or injurious increase of luxury, any real degeneracy from the standard of fifty years ago, it has occurred principally on the side of the men. Perhaps a fair comparison would show that, proportionably to our increased numbers, the habits of our cities are, in both sexes, at least as regular and industrious, moral and religious, as ever they were—the forms of social intercourse as convenient and rational—disorders as rare—public spirit as enlightened, active and diffusive, while it would be seen that we can boast of a much higher refinement of tastes and modes in several respects, of more comprehensive information, and incalculably greater means of instruction. Altogether, the condition of society is substantially improved and fitted to exhilarate the mind of a philosophical observer, who contemplates our population at large; who sets due value upon the liberal, as well the useful arts so called, and understands how the elegancies and gratifications of polished life may be allied with the best dispositions of the heart, and the noblest use of the intellectual faculties.

Simplicity may be good in the case of particular indi-

viduals and particular sects—so may domestic seclusion, and abstinence from all pageantry and splendid luxury, and a personal devotion to household concerns—but these are not traits which can be expected to prevail universally in large communities, nor are they exclusively wise and estimable in themselves. True and unadpraved civilization can include more. It admits of what affords scope for the ingenuity, fancy and the more poetical faculties and tastes, with which Providence has endowed our species, in order no doubt that they should be used and enjoyed. Our most showy and *recherché* style of living and intercourse, is far from preventing the follies and corruptions, which mark that of the European capitals. It is to be doubted whether the highest point which we have reached, can be considered as even in approach to the European extravagance and dissoluteness.

Our *bon ton* and *grand monde* may be chargeable with affectations and small vanities, but not with vices, their morning visits may be idle, their liveries and their escutcheons somewhat ridiculous, and their table too expensively and lavishly provided. After all, however, their fare is for the most part the same as that of the less ostentatious and opulent classes, no licentious intrigue prevails, and few invidious distinctions are admitted in the scenes of the drawing-room—dissipation rarely if ever, consumes the night, or engrosses the day—the domestic affections continue unimpaired, and the principles of virtue and piety to flourish in short, there is yet no real affinity between the fashionable world of the United States and that of Europe. The frivolities and inordinacies imputable to the one, are almost specifically distinct from the ostentation, vain-glory, sensuality, libertinism, aristocracy, and incessant whirl, which character-

the other. What there is of evil in the spirit of the former, is, when compared with the genius of the latter, like the vaccine compared with the variolous disease. If any positive assimilation to European depravity has taken place in our cities, it is to be found in our humblest walks—not from the influence of any bad example set, or any extortion, oppression or chicanery exercised, by the rich and mighty, but from a greater proneness to spend riotously money once easily acquired, and from the excessive use of *spirituous liquors*, both practices bringing idleness, penury and desperation in their train, and contributing to render our criminal calendar more extensive and hideous.

ARISTOCRACY

The doctrine that the men of easy fortunes, or even the opulent are necessarily *aristocrats*, is one of the most immoral and mischievous that can be preached in politics. It is false in itself, when applied to our Republic, in I tend to array one great class of society against another who, from the very prosperity and order of our country, must be very numerous, and, from their particular situation, have every reason to desire the stability of our institutions and the sacredness of the laws—points in which the other class have the deepest possible concern. Political tranquillity, and mutual respect and good-will are for the highest advantage of both.

Some American writers seem to think that *Aristocracy* consists in riding with a handsome equipage, or in elegant personal expense, perhaps in using sealing wax instead of wafers, and red pepper in preference to black. This

is a broad mistake. Aristocracy has reference to principles and rights; to political and social systems,—not to forms of domestic life or mere personal habits. In the French revolution, those who clamoured most against fine houses and coaches,—who most fiercely proscribed silver shoe-buckles, gold or pearl buttons, and powdered cuffs,—who affected the greatest plainness in dress and manners, who were the most penurious hivers and squalid slovens,—proved the greatest enemies of all regular government and equal privilege—the most ferocious and sanguinary tyrants.

The technical cry of *Aristocracy* was first raised over France,—being echoed from Paris,—in 1789. It was not originally unjust, as directed against the very numerous feudal noblesse and very widely spread and deeply rooted feudal prerogative. But when the feudal system and abuses, and the feudal gentry and the oligarchical hierarchy were all overcome and dispersed, it was fiercely and destructively continued against all the elegances, courtesies, decencies and sympathies of social life,—against all order, dignity, and subordination in any department; until, finally, it produced the reign of the guillotine and the most horrible devastation and chaos ever witnessed in a civilized state. The people of France discovered that, after all, the Marats, the Dantons, the Legendres, were the very worst of *Aristocrats*; and they gladly sought refuge from the whole race of those exclusive patriots and republicans, in the dominion of Napoleon's sword and the apparatus of an Imperial military

and several of his colleagues of New England and New York, and not a few of the Southern patriots who headed our revolutionary Congresses, and co-operated in establishing our republican institutions, practised

a degree of magnificence in dress, equipage, and their household arrangements. They risked the most for independence and freedom—they laboured as zealously and as efficaciously as the most frugal of their coadjutors, for the rescue of the colonies from monarchical and aristocratic rule; they equally sought to perpetuate the welfare of the people upon a democratic foundation. Either Laurens, or Lynch, or Middleton, was, in fact, as little of an aristocrat as Samuel Adams or Roger Sherman. Intolerance, pride, selfishness, ambition, often lurk under the simplest garb and the humblest professions. Cromwell's government was as repugnant to real democracy as the court of Charles II. Let us not overlook the substance of things to declaim against mere modes of speech or action.

In reading the *Essay on Political Eloquence* prefixed to the first volume of the *Speeches of the celebrated General Foy*, we were struck with the following passage—

“As he was entering, with much fervour, into a political discussion in the Chamber, and had just pronounced the word *Aristocracy*, a voice from the ministerial side asked him for a definition of it.—‘*Aristocracy*,’ answered he, at once and calmly—‘*Aristocracy*, in the nineteenth century, is the league, the coalition of those who wish to consume without producing; live without working; occupy all public places, without being competent to fill them; seize upon all honours, without meriting them;—that is *Aristocracy*.’ ”

In not a few American publications the phrase “the Aristocracy of our cities” is used in an invidious sense. We are well acquainted with the principal cities, and should be at a loss how to distinguish the class thus stigmatized. Are the rich the *Aristocrats*?—those who, owing to the freedom of our institutions, their own regular and skilful industry, or that of their parents, possess competent fortunes? Now, in this number are included persons of each vocation, mechanical, mercantile, and so

forth,—fewer of the learned than the other professions. Are those only the *Aristocrats* who spend their money freely, aim at refined education and manners, and employ themselves in the administration of public establishments or large operations of business?—It would be hard and anti-patriotic to proscribe such a class, because elegant hospitality, polished demeanour, liberal education, the public application of opulent leisure, the promotion of the fine as well as the merely useful arts, are in no wise anti-republican.

Patriotism dictates that we should emulate the European standard in all that is refined and noble in itself,—preserving still our democratic principles in government and civil life, our equal privileges, our general or promiscuous social intercourse for all ends of common advantage or convenience. To proscribe that class, moreover, would be extremely improvident on the part of *the others*; because the operation of our social and political system is such, that numbers of them are constantly passing into it;—there is a perpetual transition almost mutual, or amounting to a rotation, in the lapse of a few generations. If an inquiry or census were instituted into original condition, or sources and causes of present situation among the rich, or the “well off,” or the class of *Aristocrats* so called, the results would be exceedingly curious and characteristic. Those results might teach the present respectable and industrious poor, of whatever degree or calling, to be patient if not confident, with regard to the lot of their children at least, and to admire and love the general constitution and order of American polity and social being.

It may be presumed,—so great is the force of prejudice,—that a man known to be very wealthy, who should limit his domestic expenses to the smallest possible sum; dress

himself meanly; hoard his income, or employ his money in usurious modes; value himself only on the length of his purse; frequent pot-houses and soup-cellars; send his children to the cheapest schools,—would not merely escape the epithet *Aristocrat*, but probably be styled “a good Democrat,” and esteemed a true republican; while another, in easy circumstances, pursuing a course totally different: giving employment, in the extent of his means, to all the working-classes who contribute what the affluent generally use or consume; acting, in short, like a liberal and noble-spirited gentleman,—would be held of the odious denomination just mentioned.

As far as we know, the rich of Boston and Philadelphia—those of the description who, we suppose, are specially meant by the *Aristocracy*,—are persons such in general as the second of the individuals designated above. If they increase their fortunes, they spend proportionably—if they acquire local influence, it is by superior intelligence, information and disbursement. They give to public institutions; to municipal government and enterprise; to religious and charitable foundations and purposes; to domestic hospitality and social intercourse; that higher dignity and usefulness, which excite the admiration, subdue or rebuke the pride and fix the confidence of strangers, and which advance the country generally in the career of refinement and magnificence, wherein Republics may proceed with perfect safety for their essential traits and advantages, and to the disappointment of the monarchical theorists who contend that they are necessarily coarse, sordid, and stationary.

Aristocracy means the exclusive rule of a few:—the *Aristocrat* is truly he, whether rich or poor, who would monopolize power; who brands and proscribes others, individuals or bodies, for selfish or malignant objects;

who, by intrigue and management, forms political coteries or juntas that usurp the distribution of political office and municipal authority, that contrive to dictate and obtain sway by means of small cunning and sweeping denunciation.

THE POOR.

THERE is not a man of common sense, among those who are styled the *poor*, in our republic, who does not know that the distinction of rich and poor must exist in every civilized community. Inequality of possessions is inevitable under any practicable system of order, and code of laws. The privilege and benefit, with our social and political institutions, is that every one, however humble and poor originally, may become rich, and rise to a level in all respects, with the highest of his fellow-citizens. The *lottery* of life is at least open for all. Hence, there is a common, universal interest that the rights and fair advantages of the *rich* so called, should be maintained inviolate ; when they are disturbed or curtailed, the *poor* are deprived so far of what they might attain and similarly enjoy. Every poor person who has children should be specially jealous of any infringement on the established social economy, which is a general inheritance.

In mentioning the poor, we have not used the term in the European sense. In foreign lands, it signifies a large portion of society who, having no property and hopes whatever, have no real stake or share in the public prosperity and social privileges, and therefore may rejoice in universal confusion and embarrassment. In our country, there are few such poor ;—every man, as we have ob-

served, may look upon whatever is of public usefulness, as part of his present possession or probable gain. He is more or less an absolute proprietor.

We were occupied not long since in reading elaborate reports and speeches concerning the condition and prospects of the British and French working classes in town and country;—otherwise, a full history of the “Miseries of the Miserable,” as a pamphlet is entitled. The prolonged toil, the scanty wages, the insufficient and odious food, the rags, the recklessness, the vice, the contagious disease,—all oppress the heart and terrify the imagination; and the best relief for an American reader is reflection on the situation of the same classes in his own country. No contrast could be stronger than that of the destitution, abjection, impotence and ignorance in Europe, and the comforts, intelligence, information, power, and general respectability of the American artisans and labourers.

Here, all professions and callings have equal political and civil rights; and equal opportunities of affluence and elevation, as far as this is possible under the very nature of human society, in which it is impracticable to equalize conditions universally, and wherein some descriptions of employment or persons must possess more means of comfort or luxury, than others. Greater or less talent, skill or industry, forecast or improvidence, the artificial value of particular material or labour, the fluctuations of demand or supply, chance, casualty, misfortune, passion, will produce the widest diversities and strongest vicissitudes of personal situation. All complaints of the results of such causes are idle; so, likewise, all hopes that distinctions, sufferings, indigence, turpitude, crime, abuses of several kinds, public or private, can be entirely prevented by any clamour or contrivance in any city or district.

The very facilities which the American working classes enjoy for earning a comfortable and reputable subsistence, tend to render them somewhat improvident, and thus, in many individuals,—particularly the young,—the very excellence of the general order of things becomes a source of distress, and occasions that order to be assailed as defective or oppressive. In our country, throughout all descriptions and gradations, they require,—as they enjoy and they spend,—much more than they do in Europe. There may be evils in our public economy, which weigh particularly on them, and curable grievances peculiar to their order; but we believe these to be very few in fact, and we are convinced that some of them could be proved imaginary. The discontents of the operatives and mechanics, in Europe, or Great Britain, are but too well founded; their querulousness or their *radicalism* is mainly just and irrepressible. In the United States, no provocation for the same really exists. The persons who would excite the same feelings or language here, are not true friends to those whom they address. For the special disadvantages under which our working classes may labour, we could, moreover, indicate various and important special compensations—sources of just pride and prosperity.

OPERATIVES.

In the United States there are more freeholders, and yet fewer people unemployed in getting a livelihood, than in any other country.

The Lawyer, who goes through an expensive and laborious education, whose toils and anxieties in the exercise of his profession are severe, is truly an *operative*.

The Physician or the Surgeon, of whose preparation, labours and solicitudes the same may be said, and much of

whose professional duty is more irksome than any manual labour, without being better paid, is truly an *operative*.

The Clergyman, whose studies are arduous, whose income is small, whose duties, however noble in general, are often extremely painful, is truly an *operative*.

We need not say how severe are the functions of the Professor, Tutor, Schoolmaster, and how slenderly paid.

The Learned Professions are far from being sinecures.

The Merchant has his correspondence, his accounts, his risks, his purchases and sales, his calculations,—many active pursuits, to make him truly an *operative*.

Clerks, of whatever description, all shopkeepers, have their drudgery and responsibility, which cause them often to envy the mechanic or the ploughman.

The *Working Classes* embrace, in fact, the vast majority of our population in town and country;—the rich and the poor, the high and the low.

It is therefore wrong to consider as such merely the artisans and manual labourers—to represent their lot as exclusively that of the children of Eve, who were to gain their subsistence by the sweat of the brow—to treat them as subject to special hardships and grievances.

The *Working Classes*, so-called, in the large cities and towns, though the most numerous there, bear but a small proportion to the agricultural population of the country, who are all *operatives*. The husbandmen, the clearers and tillers of the soil, do not appear to be conscious of suffering any inequality, disadvantage or wrong from our

present social order and institutions. They are content with equal political and civil rights, full elective franchise, constant employment, plentiful and palatable nourishment, and the opportunity of providing for old age. The word *peasantry* cannot be applied in this republic, in the latitude of the European acceptation.

The *Working Classes*, whether in town or country,

are comparatively *poor*, only because they are numerous. Considering the means which they generally possess, and their numbers, a distribution of the property of the Rich, among the whole, would add very little indeed to the comforts or substance of each individual or family.

Nearly all the *rich* in the United States have been the architects of their own fortunes. Nowhere else,—in no age,—have so many of the working classes, attained to wealth and distinction, or competency and ease. The tables of the *rich* are not usually better provided than those of other citizens; they have, indeed, more cares, more maladies, more artificial wants, and often less independence; they have no political prerogatives; no particular political influence: it is not they who are “the great and the powerful”—if these epithets are apposite at all—it is to the majority, the working classes, or them who contrive to direct the latter.

It has been remarked by an eminent political writer that all classes and descriptions of the rich, in Europe even, are the pensioners of the poor; are under an indefeasible dependence on those who labour and whose trustees they are. Few men hoard in our country; whoever spends his income, gives it in exchange for the labour of the working classes; what may be hoarded is finally so distributed by will, inheritance, or casualty, that it, too, returns to the hands whence it came.

It is manifestly the interest of the rich that the working classes should thrive: their property becomes more valuable and more secure by the prosperity of the latter;—many domestic and personal conveniences accrue to them from the same cause:—it is only in a flourishing community that money and weight can properly be enjoyed. All attempts to separate the working classes from the other denominations, and to form them into an adverse or jealous body, should be deemed suspicious or

mischievous, as tending to weaken or destroy mutual ties, interests, and sympathies which are important or indispensable for the common welfare.

Foreigners celebrate the multitude and efficiency of the charitable institutions in the cities of New York and Philadelphia for example:—proof that those who possess property do not neglect the indigent and unfortunate. It is the accumulation of means in the hands of individuals that extends and beautifies our cities; builds houses; establishes manufactorys; supplies the materials of trade, domestic and foreign; employs mechanics and labourers, —in short, makes a Philadelphia or a New York.

An outcry has been raised against Banking. But the working classes have access to all, and have their own institutions of the kind. To no other description of citizens is a sound currency more needful. Who does not recollect how they were paid for their labour during the *Ragocracy* when the state banks had stopped specie payments. A currency wholly metallic is impracticable or unattainable, and far from being desirable, in the United States. In general, our currency is now the best in the world. The working classes do avail themselves of the system of bank credit:—they enlarge their own enterprises and stock by it; it enables those who give them employment to widen the sphere of their operations and increase their productive capitals; it constitutes in fact a universal benefit, and kept under wise management and due restraint, contributes mainly to the astonishing development and progress which we see in almost every part of the middle, eastern, and western states.

So far as those institutions have contributed to the general improvement and prosperity of the country, they have benefited particularly the poor and the middling classes. Labour of every kind has found employment in

the enterprises and operations due to their agency in every part of the Union. They have been used directly by all classes, with proportionate profit;—the number of the poor and of persons with small capitals who have acquired opulence or competency, by their means, is incalculable.

“I too am for equality,” said Mr. Fox, “I think that men are entitled to equal rights, but there are equal rights to unequal things.” The authority of the whig who uttered this truth, is greater than that of the disciples of Miss Wright, who declaim against the rich, and the learned. In no country has the equal right to unequal things been so obvious as in ours, where there is a free and a fair competition for fortune; where everything is attainable by dint of superior industry or intelligence—where nearly all are *operatives*—where the mass or bulk of the wealth is in the hands of the traders, mechanics and practical farmers, where the great plurality of these possess competency at least, and a large portion of the individuals have become and can always become affluent,—where great riches are rarely or ever accumulated in families, in consequence of the number of children, and the equal distribution of property by will or our republican law of descents.

As far as we can judge of the doctrines of Miss Wright by the newspaper accounts of them, they are compounded of the old and exploded paradoxes and sophisms of Volney, Godwin, and Woolstonecraft, which, when properly examined, would be discovered to be destitute of all plausibility and application in this republic. They are no more than “the rotten stuff, worn out in the service of sedition and infidelity in all ages, and which being newly furbished up, patched and varnished, serves well enough for those who, being unacquainted with the conflict which

has always been maintained between the sense and non-sense of mankind, know nothing of the former existence and the ancient refutation of the same follies." In the United States there is more scope, perhaps, therefore, stronger temptation for Utopian notions and schemes, but less necessity or expediency, than in any other country whatever. ••

One of the wisest of statesmen has remarked, that "a clamour made merely for the purpose of rendering the people discontented with their situation, without an endeavour to give them a practical remedy, is indeed one of the worst acts of sedition." We may add that the clamour is still more reprehensible where real grounds of discontent are few or none—where every motive exists for contentment, and when the remedies proposed for grievances mostly imaginary or inseparable from modern social order, are to the last degree wild and visionary. To the working classes, to all classes in our Union, four remedies may be urged as all-sufficient—Industry, Frugality, Temperance, and *Domesticity*. Whoever practises these cardinal points, will be prosperous and happy as far as the inherent and inevitable precariousness of human affairs will admit. We have noted domesticity in particular for the operatives, because those are likely to thrive most in their trades, and enjoy most happiness at home, who are the least intimately and zealously connected with clubs, and committees, and caucuses. Doubtless, they are entitled, and even bound to give a certain degree of attention to politics and public economy; but a special and over-anxious devotion to those subjects, and the pursuit of projects for the removal of fancied oppressions and disadvantages, must consume time and thoughts indispensable for success in business, and by rendering

them fretful and uneasy, aggravate the common ills of life, and blight much of the enjoyment within their reach.

The *Agrarian System*, or equal distribution of property, which is sometimes recommended as a grand restorative, would certainly be attended with more injustice and mischief than the common and existing order of things. In making the distribution, it would be impossible to discriminate the good and the bad, the indolent and industrious, the frugal and the improvident ; and to give equal portions to all, would be, manifestly, the height of wrong and folly. Human nature and training are necessarily subject to so many varieties, that ere long, inequalities would be produced, worse than the original—and new Agrarian laws required from time to time, inducing only greater final disorder and confusion. The Owenian schemes at Valley Forge, and in the Western country, have totally miscarried. Let any number of those who admire the Agrarian plan, draw off together, and try the experiment. The division of their own substance would not be more irksome, than the result must be certainly and speedily unfortunate and contemptible. The Harmonists and Shakers succeed with a community of goods, by means of a strict monastic and ascetic community of religion, and of a discipline of universal toil more severe than that to which the working classes in town or country are anywhere condemned. The following sentences of Mr. Burke are worthy of respectful attention in every part of the world.

" Hitherto the name of poor (in the sense in which it is used to excite compassion), has not been used for those who can, but for those who cannot labour—for the sick and infirm ; for orphan infancy ; for languishing, and decrepid age : but when we affect to pity as poor, those who must labour or the world cannot exist, we are trifling with the condition of mankind. It is the common doom of man that he must eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, that is

by the sweat of his body, or the sweat of his mind. If this toil was inflicted as a curse, it is as might be expected from the curses of the Father of all blessings—it is tempered with many alleviations, many comforts. Every attempt to fly from it, and to refuse the very terms of our existence, becomes much more truly a curse, and heavier pains and penalties fall upon those who would elude the tasks which are put upon them by the great Master Workman of the World, who in his dealings with his creatures sympathizes with their weakness, and speaking of a creation wrought by mere will out of nothing, speaks of six days of *labour* and one of *rest*. I do not call a healthy young man, cheerful in his mind, and vigorous in his arms, I cannot call such a man *poor*; I cannot pity my kind as a kind, merely because they are men. This affected pity, only tends to dissatisfy them with their condition, and to teach them to seek resources where no resources are to be found, in something else than their own industry, and frugality, and sobriety. Whatever may be the intention, (which, because I do not know, I cannot dispute) of those who would discontent mankind by this strange pity, they act towards us in the consequences, as if they were our worst enemies."

RELIGION AND TOLERATION.

"Universal benevolence or good will to mankind, is the vital principle that animates and pervades the whole system of evangelical morality."

It is a good remark of the Abbé Gregoire that the want of charity, in religious questions, is equivalent to a great heresy—and also a just saying, that from the love of our neighbour and from genuine christian charity will proceed the most temperate, and on the whole, the most skilful mode of managing whatever discussions may arise on matters of religion.

It is curious to remark the variety of forms and expedients which are employed by the genius of bigotry, or fanaticism, for the gratification of its passions and the accomplishment of its ends. Oral exhortations in every

way, formal tracts, tomes of set discourses and controversial invective, periodical magazines, &c. are not thought enough; but novels and romances are framed as vehicles for the inculcation of some one theoretical or practical system, of which the neglect or the contravention is to produce certain perdition,—merited hate and persecution in this world, and everlasting misery in the next. Tales of this description have been published in New England, but in Great Britain they have multiplied prodigiously. Among the number sent forth in London, by principal booksellers, we may specify three, entitled respectively—“No Enthusiasm”—“The Sisters”—“Body and Soul.”—All the authors agree in thinking that a person’s faith in some particular tenet is of more importance than any other matter in life, though they vary greatly in their notions about the saving tenet; and all agree that, if a man be so unfortunate as not to have the same notions as the writer himself, he is in a state of horrible peril.

It has been the good custom in different parts of our country, for christians of one denomination to contribute funds towards the erection of churches for another. We say *good* custom, because more kind and mutually liberal sentiments are thereby excited between the various professors of the common faith and hope, and the most effectual tribute is paid to the cause of christianity in general, and to public morals and order.

We have no idea of sound morality without religious sanctions. The human conscience must be informed, enlightened, and trained. In cities or large communities, particularly, the morality of reason, principle, and reflection, is that upon which alone dependence can be placed. A morality of mere habit, routine, or selfishness,—a mechanical, instinctive, blind abstinence from criminal and

dangerous indulgence—is not worthy of our rational being: we should be made to understand our spiritual constitution and ulterior destinies—to seek something more than present personal security and animal gratification. Institutions must be regulated with reference to human nature and social condition generally; those who devise and establish their internal ~~economy~~ cannot be governed by what may happen in particular instances. They will not look to the possible conduct of individuals of particular temperaments when particularly circumstanced. Some men may be uniformly moral, without any positive religion; but the mass require this, as well as positive instruction in right and wrong, strong inducements to virtue, in hopes and fears, besides legal restraints and public punishments. That virtue is the surest, most elevated and appropriate, which is founded on moral and religious science. Principled and enlightened conduct must always be the best. There is much significancy in the remark of an eminent divine to a lady, “Madam, if *you* do not put something into the heads of your children, the Devil will.”

The line of demarcation which separates the atheist from all denominations of Christians, is infinitely broader than that by which the discordance of any one of them with another is marked. The prosecution of the former is not “based upon the dogma that no one is to be allowed to attack the religion of the state,” as is, undoubtedly, the persecution of a sect whose belief does not exactly coincide with the tenets of that religion; he is prosecuted on account of his attacks upon all religion, and consequently upon the very foundation of society as it now exists.

In endeavouring to suppress by arbitrary edicts the attempts at proselytism which a christian sect may make,

there is undeniably a violation of rights, because it is a matter of conscience with its members to diffuse opinions which they deem most conducive to the eternal welfare of man. But can such a motive be assigned by

“The hopeless, dark idolater of chance,”

for attempting to render his fellow-creatures as miserable as he is himself? Can he suppose that he is actuated by feelings of duty when he seeks, in the beautiful words of Mackenzie, “to beat down that column which supports the feebleness of humapity; to pluck its little treasure from the bosom of poverty; to wrest its crutch from the hand of age, and remove from the eye of affliction the only solace of its woe ?” He knows well that the dissemination of his opinions can do no good—that it must, on the contrary, be the source of incalculable harm, and in essaying, nevertheless, to scatter them about, he is acting from the impulse of the most fiendish malignity. Though the policy, therefore, of an attempt on the part of a government to arrest him in his career, may well be doubted, the propriety of the principle which prompts that attempt, cannot with justice be impugned.

The privilege of public inquiry, debate, or animadversion, has, like most privileges, its distinguishable limits, beyond which it degenerates into licentiousness, and ought to be rigidly repressed. With regard to the newspapers, particularly, it is our clear conviction that there are several topics, which should be excluded by reason of their intrinsic character and tendency, and not simply because they would occupy too much space, beget rancour, and so forth; and in that class of topics we certainly place *Deism*, or the defamation of Christianity.

It would, we presume, strike every reader and nearly every editor, as quite monstrous, to publish in a news-

paper, elaborate essays, or even loose hints, against the institution of marriage, the punishment of crimes, the formal worship of God, or the support of any kind of government. In what case soever, the fundamental morals and the necessary bonds of society would be plainly involved, no attempt to discredit and destroy could be suffered, without reprobation on every side. We should entertain but little hope—and be sorry if we could—of gaining any suffrages by the pleas that such attempts might be repelled in the same vehicle; that the field of argument was open to all; that truth and reason were sure to triumph in the end.

Now, we consider the christian religion, independently of the question of its divine origin, as the very basis of public social order and moral existence; as the main barrier against general misrule and profligacy; and the best source of relief for the bulk of the people under the labours and afflictions of life. If attacked systematically in the newspapers, it might not be adequately defended—the arguments employed against it might be read, but not as extensively, those in its favour:—it could not, indeed, be overthrown or materially affected; but minds that particularly require its consolations, might be shaken, and passions, which it would effectually regulate, be made ungovernable; and much gratuitous mischief be thus perpetrated. Some writers think that reasoning against the acknowledgment and support of a *priesthood* should at least be allowed: but it is our fixed belief, that, though particular denominations of christians may dispense with regular, endowed ministers; yet, that Christianity in general, and the proper recognition of the Supreme Being, could not be maintained without them. To proscribe the clergy altogether, in the present state of the world, would

be, in our judgment, the same thing as to renounce Christianity.

The Decalogue and the sermon on the mount may be styled the pandect of true morals ; and that mind must be far indeed from being adequately provided, which has not been made acquainted with the history, general contents, and particular influences of the Bible.

Christianity is, in fact, the basis of our social order, with which all our institutions should be more or less in accordance. There should be everywhere, and particularly in seminaries, a certain reference and adaptation to the common faith and worship out of doors. The Christian religion is the general creed and comfort, and we should not hesitate to adopt the language of the great political philosopher who remarks—"It has been the chief source of civilization among many nations ; and if we should throw it off, I am apprehensive—being well aware that the mind will not bear a void—that some uncouth, pernicious, and degrading superstition might take place of it."

The abstract ethics of the Gospel are the best ; Sir Thomas More was right in affirming that "the Christian religion, *rightly understood*, is the deepest and choicest piece of philosophy." Secularly speaking, the Christian theory of morals is the true social regimen ; it is, doubtless, perverted and abused, but any other would be more mischievously distorted and outraged. It recognizes "the sacred rights of conscience ;"—truth, justice and philanthropy are its very essences.

Dr. Brewster thinks that he has exhibited irrefragable evidence that all the theological writings of Newton were composed in the vigour of his life, and before the crisis of that bodily disorder which is supposed to have affected his reason. The philosopher was fully and generously

tolerant—"He never scrupled," says the biographer, "to express his abhorrence of persecution, even in its mildest form." Immorality, however, and impiety, he never permitted to pass unreproved ; when Dr. Halley ventured to say anything disrespectful to religion, Newton invariably checked him, and observed—" *I have studied these things*—*You have not.*"

A difference of opinion may prevail among sensible and upright men, concerning the propriety of American missions to the Eastern Continent : but no reflecting and well-informed person could question the wisdom and beneficence of similar errands to our own Indian population. The Quakers and the Baptists have, in some instances, shown how much positive success may attend them. Whoever will read dispassionately the history of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, must be convinced that the condition of the savage may be infinitely improved by a similar process.

In the preface to the poem of "Cain," by Lord Byron, his lordship being about to introduce *Lucifer* as one of the *dramatis personæ*, mentions that he had endeavoured to make him speak *with spiritual politeness*. If this be thought proper in fiction, even for the Prince of Darkness, how much more fit and requisite would it not seem to be in real life, in a minister of the gospel or a Christian polemic ? "For my part," says Mr. Burke, "there is no circumstance in all the contradictions of our most mysterious nature, that appears to me more humiliating than the use we are disposed to make of those sad examples, which appear purposely marked for our correction and improvement. Every instance of fury and bigotry in other men, one should think would naturally fill us with an horror of that disposition : the effect, however, is directly the contrary," &c.

We do not meddle with polemical divinity ; we have no idea of interfering in religious controversies on points of faith—but we *feel* that when one denomination of Christians, or any association of persons styling themselves such, lead, in general, lives as useful and moral as the best of the community, they ought to be deemed sincere in *their* interpretation of the *bible*, and that no member of any other denomination has a right to hold them up to the world as the worst of reprobates.

Such intolerance and uncharitableness cannot fail to be condemned by public opinion, and richly deserve to be signalized for rebuke and repudiation.

The King of Saxony is said to have caused the ministers of the several Christian denominations in his dominions, to be directed to abstain in their sermons, religious instructions, &c. from expressions offensive to other communions. How fortunate, if such a regulation could be carried into effect in this country. The warfare of the pen and the tongue between Christian congregations, answers no purpose but the excitement or perpetuation of animosity—it neither promotes nor prevents proselytism. It becomes an endless ermination and recrimination, injurious to the character and peace of the parties, and especially favourable to the cause of libertinism and Deism. Every day furnishes something like a new confirmation of the remark of the Pagan author Ammianus Marcellinus, who said that no wild beasts were so inimical to man, as the greater part of Christians were deadly to each other. “ Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum.” The dissemination and recommendation of certain sectarian books—partial and exaggerated histories, are, as we think, done in an improper and impolitic spirit :—they exasperate prejudices ; envenom feelings ; foment the angry passions.

Aggression and provocation may be pleaded on the one side and the other—but this point can never be adjudged so as to produce acquiescence. Meanwhile, true Christianity itself suffers not a little.

Intolerance and uncharitableness consist, not alone in rigorous edicts and corporal inflictions, but also in wounding the peculiar feelings, and stigmatizing the opinions and history of religious sects,—points in which they are generally as sensitive as in their bodies or property.

There will be new and great divisions in our political world; religious controversies are ripe and must produce perpetual diversities of doctrine, or fresh heresies, so called. The general endeavour ought then to be, that they shall not prejudice social or personal intercourse; that, in this respect, citizens of the same republic, worshippers of the same God, shall not allow their mutual conduct or feelings to be invidiously affected, but regulate them according to the dictates of reason and the consciousness of common infirmity or common right of judgment and profession. He who shows bigotry, who proscribes and despises, who holds himself aloof, on account of *opinions*, may be suspected of particular weakness or obliquity of intellect, harshness of temper or selfishness of purpose. It becomes the constitutional fallibility of all to be satisfied, for the ordinary relations of life, with moral demeanour and moral reputation, in each; with a regular performance of the social, political and domestic duties. Religion is, doubtless, to be cherished apart, as the paramount concern; the *truly* religious person is the most estimable and trusty in himself; each individual should cling to the tenets or association which he conscientiously deems the best—but still abstractedly, as it were, from private or personal connexion. It is evident that the opposite plan of self-government would engender boundless and manifold

dissension or repulsion, and convert society into a scene of hatred and hostility altogether unworthy of our rational being and its final destination.

Some one of our contemporaries has sneered at the idea of *national sin* and *national retribution* as *new*! To the same person the Scriptures, which abound in instances and texts, must be then also *new*; and much of the history of the Greeks and Romans connected with their mythology; and many of the works of the ancient epic and dramatic poets. This idea or theory has been common, in a remarkable, we might almost say a conclusive degree, to nations barbarous as well as civilized, ancient and modern; it is almost co-extensive with that of the existence of a God, of which the universal belief or conception is received among the sound arguments against atheism. The anniversary of the Redemption implies collective delinquency and condemnation.

Dr. Parr, in his celebrated "Discourse on the Late Fast," has admirably amplified and illustrated the broad doctrine of Tillotson, in his excellent sermon on the *Advantages of Religion to Societies*. The archbishop pronounces the idea of national retribution to be the more reasonable "because this world is the only season for national punishment," and affirms that the experience of all ages has made it good. Parr concludes, after general reasoning and particular research, that "flagrant and national depravity always demands, and always incurs, exemplary and national visitation." Nations, as well as individuals, according to the same authorities, stand exposed to the sad consequences of passion or crime "in a regular and established series of natural causes." The permanence of public happiness depends on the integrity of public morals. Between the misfortunes and demerits of a people, there subsists not only the most intimate

connexion, but the most exact proportion. *Madame de Staél*, in the 10th chapter 3d part, of her *Reflections on the French Revolution*, has some fine remarks touching the *expediency* of morality in communities and governments. *Injustice* she affirms and shows to be the worst state policy, or no policy at all ; she likens it to a resort to usurious loans, which always induces ruin in the end. We shall translate one of her sentences :

“ What has given some credit to the diabolical maxim that policy is above or distinct from morality, is this—that the rulers or heads of a state have been confounded with the state itself: now, those heads have often found it more convenient and advantageous for *themselves*, to get out of a present difficulty in any way or at any cost, and they have ascribed the character of principle to the measures which their selfishness or incapacity has caused them to adopt.”

Now a religious establishment consists in more than a titled hierarchy and beneficed sect ;—it consists essentially, in the legal ascendancy and preference of a particular creed and conscience ;—in a practical, special discrimination and homage. A studied conformity of the measures of our government to the creed and conscience of any particular denomination of Christians, or of a partial league of denominations, would therefore, amount to an *establishment* in the most invigilious and oppressive sense. The story of the strife, jealousies, and several aspirations and attempts of the rival Christian sects, is, perhaps, the most awful and instructive chapter of human annals. Every general reader and observer must know that nothing is so irritating and odious in religious emulation or contention, as a victory of doctrine :—men would yield equal rights of property—any mere secular advantage,—rather than equality of favour with regard to religious tenet and feeling :—a civil triumph of particular scruples, in our republic, could not fail to provoke a constant and exasperating struggle.

There is scarcely one of the antipathies or animosities which men bear to each other, that will appear more unwarrantable on examination, than the political or religious. History shows that none have produced more havoc of life and happiness—more baleful civil dissensions and revolutions,—domestic feuds and separation,—external and protracted wars. Reflection upon these consequences should alone keep the lover of morality and peace on his guard against such prejudices; for effects form a sound criterion of character—the tree is fairly judged by its fruits. But an equally cogent admonition and dissuasive may be found in the very nature of the subjects of religion and politics, upon which diversity of opinion and party-action arise: they are such as to render unanimity impossible according to our moral and intellectual temperament. Under any general system of belief, however generally adopted, sects spring up with wide varieties of doctrine, rite and discipline, and permanent divisions and endless subdivisions universally take place: this is the story of all the great religious creeds from time immemorial, including the Divine Dispensation of Christianity, though it has as its very foundation or essence the precept of universal charity or the love of one's neighbour without distinction of *faith*.

Moreover, in polemical records, political and religious, it is seen that the parties have included, on the average, an equal number of vigorous and enlightened understandings, benevolent hearts, patriotic spirits, and virtuous lives; and that if perversion, violence, malignancy, bigotry, have disfigured every party and every contest, it has been owing to excessive zeal, as well as the influences of pride and selfishness, which doubtless have a large share in all. Whoever looks back in a philosophical and impartial mood, upon any great party contention in a

civilized country, or any great religious or political struggle between nations, will acknowledge that the weight of intellectual and moral authority has been nearly balanced—that prejudice and intolerance have chiefly produced the strife; and that the hatred of men against each other—their mutual aversion has thus proved itself to be “the most horrible and mischievous of passions.” Every one, who looks into the composition and course of the parties and sects among which he lives or with which he is contemporary, sees that individuals of the best and the worst characters belong to each, if not in equal proportions, at least in a measure that justifies or enjoins self-distrust and reciprocal forbearance. This view of the matter is sanctioned by the annals of American parties of every description; and the lessons of truth and wisdom are particularly important for our country, where, from habit and the freedom of our institutions, we are specially prone to discrepancy or contrariety of religious and political sentiment, and to the array of fictions and sects.

We wish that our countrymen would read Shaftesbury's famous “Inquiry concerning Virtue.” Though held to be an infidel writer, he is a profound and comprehensive observer of human character and concerns, and, in such statements as the following, for instance, tells that which cannot be safely contradicted.

“We have known people, who having the appearance of great zeal in religion, have yet wanted even the common affections of humanity, and have shown themselves extremely degenerate and corrupt. Others, again, who have paid little regard to religion, and have been considered as mere deists, have yet been observed to practise the rules of morality, and act in many cases with such good meaning and affection towards mankind, as might seem to force an acknowledgment of their being virtuous. And, in general, we find mere moral principles of such weight, that in our dealings with men, we

are seldom satisfied by the fullest assurance given us of their zeal in religion, till we hear something further of their character. If we are told a man is religious, we still ask, 'what are his morals?' But if we hear at first that he has honest moral principles, and is a man of natural justice and good temper, we seldom think of the other question, 'whether he be religious and devout?'"

To men who are furiously and fanatically denouncing their countrymen^{*} of different religious creeds, it would be vain, we presume, to cite from the gospel, such texts as the following taken *passim*: "On earth, peace and good will towards men. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you. Preaching peace by Jesus Christ, the Lord. The fruit of the spirit is *love*, joy and peace. Christ came and preached peace. Add to godliness, brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness *charity*. The servants of the Lord must be *gentle*, shewing all meekness to *all men*. He that *sayeth* he loveth God and hateth his brother, is a *liar*. In *meekness*, instructing those that oppose. Having your conversation honest (among the Gentiles) that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation."

Were it not that there are so many sermons of the most proscriptive and rancorous character printed and industriously circulated, we should not, perhaps, feel ourselves entitled to notice the evil thus; they might pass unmolested as effusions or paroxysms of zeal, escaped in the heat of pulpit exercise, and willingly left only in the memory of devoted congregations. The references to some sects, furnish most revolting samples of theological rancour. They are expressed in the strongest language of execration, and betray the utmost intensity of a hate like that described in the following phrase of Cicero— "*odium immane et crudele barbarorum in hostem.*" If we could suppose the language of the preacher, the true

criterion of his disposition towards the religious denomination whom he assails—that his anathemas are those of the heart as well as of the tongue, we should deem this an opportunity to express comfort and joy, that the age of *auto da fés* is passed away, and that the clergy have it no longer in their power to wreak their resentment of what they deem heresy, by torturing the body and destroying the life, as well as blasting the reputation of the obnoxious.

When John Wesley made his famous and furious attack on the Calvinistic leaders and doctrines, even his own friends of moderate character, and all the temperate Calvinists, were shocked; they observed, says Southey, that Mr. Wesley's "horrid appeal to all the devils in hell gave a sort of infernal tone to the controversy."

Sweeping titles and pretensions are common to all the religious denominations. Speaking with all deference and humility—we could wish that more stress were laid, in their formal publications, upon *personal conduct—practical morality* in every relation, pursuit and transaction—as the most efficacious means of winning Divine favour and ultimate redemption. According to the Mahometan doctrine even, *prayer* carries the faithful only half way to heaven;—it is *charity*, in the most comprehensive sense, which secures access to the empyrean. The only sure way of appearing to be good is by being so in reality;—the best proof of sound faith is pure and benevolent practice.

Of the several kinds of pulpit effusions, we should deem much the best for general circulation those which may be designated as ethical Discourses of a Christian philosopher, teaching particularly and separately the Young and the Aged, the Afflicted and the Sick, the Poor and the Rich, what they owe, in sentiment and conduct,

to themselves and those with whom they are connected by ties of consanguinity or affinity and the mutual dependencies of private life. Such men as Dr. Allison, the Rev. Sydney Smith, Mr. Palfrey, Dr. Channing, and Dr. Smith, of Princeton, rendered an important service to society when they allowed the addresses of this design and vein, which they prepared for their pulpits, to be given to the world, so that the same lessons and considerations, exciting, as they do, salutary reflection and resolve, might be possessed and enjoyed by any family or individual, as well of future times, as contemporary. We would not undervalue doctrinal sermons, discussing special tenets in the divisions of Christianity: such discussions may be expedient or indispensable, occasionally, according to the characters, circumstances and requirements of congregations; and the publication of them may be proper or necessary; yet, in point of diffusive and transmissible utility, we cannot but view as greatly superior that description of religious discourses which go directly and surely home to the "business and bosom" of every intelligent person.

PHRENOLOGY.

(THE following humble Address was prepared and issued soon after Congress had seriously entertained and discussed petitions for the encouragement of flying machines and explorations of the centre of the earth, and when Phrenology, which has made so much progress to its zenith was just dawning upon the United States. The exact terms employed by the Phrenologists are used and their theory faithfully exhibited, according to the best authorities of that epoch. Inasmuch as every session of

Congress is marked by some debates of importance equally doubtful and by affrays or altercations, alike meet, decorous and creditable, and as the science of Phrenology has become of so much spread and moment, the memorial may be deemed still, and be likely long to remain, in every respect opportune, valid and producible.)

••
Memorial of the PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY of _____ to the Honourable the Congress of _____ sitting at _____

RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS,

That this enlightened Republic being the land of freedom and security not only for the person, but for all the conceptions, imaginations and excogitations of the mind ; it has been deemed a soil well adapted to the germination and maturity of that new and exquisite branch of European science, first generally known by the names of Craniology and Cranioscopy, but now wearing the appellation of Phrenology, the etymology of which it cannot be necessary to explain to your learned body.

Your memorialists, disciples of the illustrious Gall and Spurzheim, have seen with much satisfaction and encouragement, the deference and favour with which you have lately received two noble and most adventurous plans for escaping alive from the surface of this earth—the one of which, when executed, as it may be under your powerful patronage, must greatly promote the science of geology ; and the other, that of cosmography.

Your memorialists have never believed with the erudite Bishop of Landaff, that Domingo Gonzales did actually perform a journey to the Moon—nor with the renowned Gulliver's first readers, that there was a flying island ; nor with the philosophers of Laputa, that fire was malleable, sun beams could be extracted out of cucumbers, or the hoofs of living horses petrified, to preserve them from

foundering:—Nor would we wish to see your honourable body distributed entirely into committees upon brilliant projects of this nature, so as to resemble the thrice famed academy of Lagado. But your memorialists do think that a portion of you cannot be better employed, than in digesting, and devising ways and means to promote, the schemes of your ingenious countrymen for penetrating the centre, and traversing on high the whole circumambient atmosphere of our globe, thereby forming an epoch in the history of human knowledge, and producing a total revolution in human affairs.

Upon similar grounds, we, your memorialists humbly think we possess, and will venture to prefer, a claim upon your flattering notice and exalted co-operation. Emboldened by the facts and considerations above mentioned, we will proceed to sketch a brief outline of the science which we cultivate, and to develope the views in which we desire the concurrence and aid of your honourable body.

The great GALL has discovered that the brain is not merely the organ of thought, but a congeries of distinct organs, corresponding to the several faculties, into which the mind may be supposed to be partitioned—that each cerebral organ has its peculiar, appropriate function—that the size of the organ is the criterion of the energy with which its function is performed—that the action of this function tends to raise that part of the skull under which the organ is situated—that the greater or less protuberance on the skull, indicates the greater or less energy or prevalence of the subjacent organ, and consequently of the mental faculty to which it corresponds. Your honourable body will at once see the *practical system* that was naturally built upon these splendid discoveries, and will be affected with delight in dwelling upon the important

relations so ascertained, when you consider the number of organs crowded into a narrow compass, and hid from the view as they are, by an irregular bony case, which itself is covered by a thick layer of muscle and integuments.

It was but one step to establish a system of external cranioscopical investigation, by which the particular prominences and depressions in the skull, and the peculiarities in the conformation of the head, being traced, the cerebral organization could be known, and the several mental faculties and propensities be determined in their various degrees of energy or weakness. The discoverer having himself witnessed and scrutinized many striking instances of concomitance between particular mental powers and particular cerebral developments, so as to put the truth of his pregnant theory beyond all doubt or cavil, proceeded to methodize and complete it, and accordingly divided the brain into *thirty-three* organs correspondent to the *thirty-three* special faculties into which he analyzed the soul; and he allotted to each organ a particular, defined portion of the brain, which portion furnishes by its appearance a sure indication of the state of the organ and the faculty; as, altogether, they lead to a sure knowledge of the dispositions, propensities and powers of the soul. Your memorialists will not so far trespass upon the precious time of your honourable body, as to enumerate all the aforesaid organs, but some of them our purpose renders it desirable to specify. From the number, then, we will quote the following.

- 1st. The organ of *Adhesiveness* or disposition to form *attachments*.
- 2. The organ of *Combativeness*, or disposition to wrangle or fight.
- 3. The organ of *Destructiveness*, or disposition to destroy.
- 4. The organ of *Acquisitiveness*, or disposition to acquire, which in excess leads

to avarice and dishonesty. 5. The organ of *Secretiveness*, or disposition to conceal and ability to suppress improper feelings. 6. The organs of *self-esteem* and *love of approbation*, when not checked, producing overweening conceit, ambition, vanity, &c. 7. The organ of *Veneration*, or tendency to adore. 8. The organ of *Cautiousness*, in its excess irresolution. 9. The organ of *Ideality*, the poetical disposition, leading to exaggeration, hyperbole. 10. The organ of *Time*, the feeling of duration. 11. The organs of *Talkativeness* and *Metaphysical Subtlety*, connected with that of *ideality* and with the *law* organ. 12. The organ of *educability*, or susceptibility of being instructed and tamed. 13. The organ of *Causality*, the faculty of examining causes and effects. 14. The organ of *Wonder*, sensibility and tendency to the *marvellous*. 15. The organ of *Determinateness*, firm and constant character. 16. The organ of *Conscientiousness*, sense of justice and duty. 17. The organ of *Constructiveness*, or disposition to build.

Some of the organs thus enumerated are concealed from vulgar vision and require the *tactus eruditus* for their detection; but there are none of them which cannot be discovered by the eye or the hand of an experienced cranioscopist and true believer. Thus it is given to him, to understand thoroughly the talents, propensities and deficiencies of each individual whose cranium may be subjected to his inspection and touch.

Your memorialists will now observe, with all deference and submission, and without pretending to deny the high qualities and sublime virtues, with which your Honourable body may be supposed to be endowed, that various symptoms have appeared in your proceedings, and various charges have been urged against you, in the course of your present session, which have raised in us

the apprehension, that too many individuals have been admitted among you, who are unfortunate in the structure of their cerebrums and are under the influence and energy of an excessive developement of some of the organs above named. The Reporters have too often had occasion to relate scenes of strife, supposed to arise from undue attachment or antipathy to executive officers, candidates for the supreme magistracy; and one of your own members has declared in a public letter, that you could scarce be restrained from coming to blows on this account, on the floor of your hall.

Such irregularities could spring, as is manifest, only from the combined predominance of the organs of *veneration*, *adhesiveness*, *acquisitiveness* and *combativeness*, and the too great depression of the organ of *secretiveness*.

Your honourable body have also been accused, not merely by that cynical, querulous and meddlesome race, the editors of newspapers, but openly by the most grave and distinguished of your own order, of being verbose, prolix and rhetorical in your debates, and of consuming months in efforts to acquire oratorical renown and promote private ends, rather than to advance the general weal and accomplish the national business. The causes of all this cannot be other, than the diminutiveness of the organs of *Time*, *Conscientiousness*, and *Causality*, and the exorbitance of the organs of *Talkativeness*, *metaphysical subtlety*, and *self-esteem*. Several of your honourable body have shown an uncontrollable desire to abolish the defensive establishments of the country; to reduce all salaries but your own, below the point of comfortable and respectable subsistence, and in fact, to dismantle the state. Here is seen the overpowering energy of the organ of *destructiveness* in those individuals; than which nothing could be more menacing to the country, under

the present circumstances of the world. There is reason to suspect, moreover, from the contrariety of the votes of your honourable body, on the same questions, and the rapid vicissitudes of opinion occasionally evinced even in the conduct of superior statesmen, that the organ of *determinativeness* is too feeble with the majority, and the organs of *caution* and *ideality* somewhat inordinate with a considerable number.

Whether the imputations cast upon your honourable body be just or not, it is certain that your reputation has suffered, and plain that an expedient which should serve either as a remedy or a safeguard, ought to be acceptable. Such an expedient has presented itself to the minds of your memorialists, and to submit it to you. wisdom, forms one of the chief objects of this humble address. It is this—that an amendment be made to the federal constitution, which shall prescribe, in addition to the already enjoined and indispensable qualifications of members of Congress, that no person shall be a member who shall not, when elected, have undergone an examination by a sworn committee of the Phrenological Society of his State, and shall not have received from them a license, and a certificate of the condition of his cerebral organs.

Your honourable body will be at no loss to distinguish the advantages of this scheme. Where the organs of an injurious tendency have an excessive protuberance and incurable superabundance of energy,—where the others are greatly deficient, and the organ of *educability* is not marked,—the party will be pronounced unfit to serve. In the case of those who shall receive certificates, the established formula, at the meeting of the two houses “appeared, was *qualified*, and took his seat,” will be brought much nearer to the literal truth. The speaker will be enabled to form his *committees* of the most suitable

and useful materials—the two houses and the country will know their men beforehand—and the president and heads of department will be more confident and unhesitating in selecting for the offices and jobs within their gift, from the number of candidates for them (always understood to be great) in your honourable body. The amendment which we suggest would obviate the necessity of other amendments, were the scheme extended, so as to embrace all the executive officers under the federal government. It would no longer be requisite to convert one branch of your body, as has been proposed, into a tribunal to decide constitutional questions. The Judges of the Supreme Court might be chosen by an infallible test of ability and rectitude; all the alarms and clamours of that ancient and unambitious State, —, would be allayed, and incidentally, your memorialists would remark that as the organs of *talkativeness*, *metaphysical subtlety* and *ideality*, are known to possess peculiar activity and energy in that State, it might be understood that the committee of the society therein established, should pay especial attention to the condition of the elected in respect to those organs. And so in the other States, according to the propensities and the deficiencies by which they are supposed to be characterized.

It is not to be concealed, and indeed it has been proclaimed in the debates of your honourable body, that peculation has been too common, and that the list of public delinquents has, within the few years past, grown to a size which could never have been expected, seeing that the public trusts have been distributed and enjoyed by Republicans *par excellence*, of the only true school. Your memorialists, like some of yourselves, at first stood aghast at the recent disclosures; but we find consolation and hope—as we expect your honourable body will also

do—in the idea of the extension of the amendment as above stated. For then the functionaries vested with the appointing power will have, in the reports of the committees of the Phrenological Society, sure data upon which to select for office. It will be enough that an accurate survey be made of the situation of applicants as to the organs of *Acquisitiveness*, *Inhabitiveness*, and *Philoprogenitiveness*, from the undue energy of which, all frauds upon the Treasury may be believed to proceed. Your memorialists have thought that a professed cranioscopist should be attached by law to each of the departments of public service; or, at least, an *organoscope*, such as your memorialists will endeavour to contrive, by means of which the untutored may be enabled to trace the grosser prominences of the skull.

Your memorialists might indicate various other sensible benefits to accrue from their scheme, but they rely upon the ready discernment of your honourable body, and will content themselves with signalizing but one more, which late occurrences have invested with particular interest. We have not been inattentive to the embarrassments and discussions in which one of your branches has been involved, by the inaptness of its hall for the important object of hearing, and the failure of the expedients tried by its committee on architectural conformation and the transmission of sound: nor have we been heedless of the fact that the other branch has been literally *smoked* out of its apartment, in consequence of the retrogression of the ashes and sooty exhalation from the ill-constructed chimneys. Now, in all this matter, everything depends upon the state of the organ of *Constructiveness* in the architect of the public buildings; and that being easily determinable, there would be no mistake in the choice of that officer.

On the whole, your memorialists hope that our plan, which will at least furnish a perfect intellectual and moral chart of Congress—will be deemed worthy of your serious consideration, and much superior to the celebrated project for the reformation of deliberative assemblies, detailed in the voyage to Laputa, to which we beg leave to refer your honorable body. Should you deem it preferable that candidates for seats be subjected to the examination of our committees *before* the polls are open, so as to avoid repeated elections in the same district; or—inasmuch as the pretenders to the Presidency are likely to be numerous, and some of them of doubtful capacity and propensities—that the *supreme executive* also be brought within our scrutiny, it may be accomplished, your memorialists fully believe.

All which is respectfully submitted.

BREACH OF CONFIDENCE.

It has been contended by some moralists that the community, among whom confidential correspondence, or the *secrecy of letters*, is not deemed inviolable, must be either in a state of barbarism or corruption. “A courier, bearing despatches to Philip, fell into the hands of the Athenian general; the latter sent them to the King of Macedon without breaking the seal. Pompey, in the midst of civil discord, respected the confidence of friendship, and burned all the letters in his possession, which might have exposed to injury those who had written them, or to whom they were addressed.” Such is the example which honourable *pagans* have left. The christian civilization of our country is not yet so far advanced. Party spirit, in our

political contests, breaks through all bounds of trust and decency, in the use of private letters.

If we were absolute lawgivers, we would subject to the heaviest penalties all principals and accessories in such disclosures, and all publishers and printers of private conversations.

In Plutarch's *Lives* there is an account of the Lacedemonian customs, and in that account the following statement:—"When they first entered the eating room, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said—*Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.*" *Not a word* was the Spartan injunction, and ought to be the rule of modern society. Plutarch adds, that the Lacedemonians styled their repasts, *Phiditia*, perhaps from their tendency to *friendship* and *mutual benevolence*. The publication of things uttered at table would directly counteract the sense of this good title. *Mirabeau* proposed to the National Assembly of France, to enact heavy penalties for such a breach of trust and decency. We shall translate a few of his sentences.—"Ask all honourable men what they think of the promulgation of private letters or discourse; they will all shudder, because all find their own security endangered. To receive a mark of confidence, is to contract an engagement;—unless this be true, all the social ties are dissolved; for if I say to my neighbour, *I bring peace*, and he understands, or affects to understand—I declare war against you—if I say to him, *I commit myself to your good faith*, and he interprets this *I permit you to violate your faith*, we no longer speak the same language; we have the tower of Babel again—we had better disperse."

When persons live in any degree of intimacy or confidence, they freely give vent to feelings and opinions without deeming it necessary to call them *private* or *con-*

idential, because the relation of the parties implies that they are so. The after-test should be—"Will the public use, which I am tempted to make of what I thus heard, prove injurious to the utterer? and if so, would he not, had he apprehended the present state of things, have declared it to be confidential, or suppressed it altogether?" Whether a communication be expressly, or virtually, implicitly confidential, is the same thing to a man of strict honour and integrity. It is so easy, when alienated or estranged, or fired with resentment, or stimulated by the prospect of gain, to find pretexts for promulgating sentiments thrown out in the intercourse of friendship or familiar acquaintance, that very few pleas indeed should be admitted as justificatory. We would reject even self-defence, except under circumstances the most rare and oppressive. What must be the character of the informant who could report a private conversation for the newspapers. An caves-dropper is not to be believed, because his very act implies baseness. The more common the baseness of divulging in the newspapers, private communications, the more frequently and severely ought it to be reprobated.

As far as it regards *publication*, every private conversation should be deemed *confidential*. This we would make, and have always considered the rule of social honour and true breeding. It is *necessary* to comfort and security in private intercourse. Leave to the hearer the decision of what is *confidential* and what not so, and you put the speaker entirely in his power.

Many things stated in private discourse are, and may be, without impropriety repeated *in the same way*; yet, even thus, much wrong and mischief are done. Nothing should be published, without express permission,—or

~~without~~ suppressing the manner in which it was obtained, the fact to be of an innocent or useful nature.

of the conversations or sayings of the have frequently done wanton injury to by retailing too much, or what they and these friends would have anxiously suppressed. The ~~gross~~ gossip of the memoirs is, in innumerable instances, either indiscreet, treacherous or redundant. So, of the private correspondence of the dead, betrayed in like manner.

The divulgation of things strictly true is often either wholly unnecessary or absolutely mischievous. Turpitude; folly; the foibles, incongruities or obliquities of those who have been capable of enlightening the world and exciting its admiration, may be *concealed*, with advantage, and be wholly destitute of value when revealed.

Every one knows that the meaning of what is uttered orally, may depend upon the general nature of the subject, or the particular occasion,—upon the mood of the parties, —upon a nod, a wink, a glance of the eye, an inflection of the voice—and therefore, that to repeat the particular phrases merely is, oftentimes, to gabble and misrepresent their intended import. Few men are so much gifted in point of memory as to be able to repeat exactly or fairly what has been said in casual discourse.

Gouverneur Morris being asked an account of something that had been said in private discourse, he replied —“It would be indequate in me to bring forward publicly the conversation which Mr. Jefferson held with me, for he certainly could not have intended it for the public; and whatever may have been or may be his conduct towards me or my friends, *there is, I think, a sanctity of social*

life among gentlemen which ought not to be

Again, on another occasion—“I told you I feel myself bound to tell you now, that,

although the information I received was not expressly under the seal of confidence, yet it was in that sort of conversation, where, *among gentlemen*, there is so much confidence implied, that it would be indecorous to cite facts, unless, perhaps, to eulogize another ~~after his death.~~

To publish or republish private letters either perfidiously communicated or surreptitiously obtained, is to give countenance, if not absolute sanction, to a sad breach of express, or implied confidence.

To send forth to the world that which has passed in friendly intercourse, written or oral, and which bore, intrinsically or by injunction, the character of privacy, is to violate good faith, to reject the general understanding between men of honour, and to impair the security and thus suppress the freedom of social converse.

The practice of publishing private matter would destroy the personal respectability of the conductors of public journals, by impairing the character and repute of the ~~work~~ of inquisitions to their office, and causing them to be regarded in the light of spies who prowl in order to purloin, or listen only to betray. Such of the profession as would retain for it any share of trust in ~~private~~ life, or any degree of public *esteem*, should studiously avoid the least reference,—except an intimation of disapproval and regret,—to articles the public disclosure of which implies fraud or treachery. No advantage to party objects,—no gratification of personal resentments,—no immediate triumph,—can excuse that use of them, which encourages or renders more efficacious the original impropriety.

We shall always dispute the doctrine that editors or their readers have a *right* to such matter, because it has been generally republished. The receiver ~~may~~ not be quite as bad as the thief, but he is ~~ever~~ reprehensible when he promotes the object of the latter, and increases

the wrong done to the person or persons despoiled. Such, however, were the effects of the further propagation of the secret, which was improperly divulged in the first

SLANDER.

It is a pernicious liberty of the press, that which consists alone in the privilege of reviling with impunity. Slander is more readily pardoned or relished than the most just and wholesome strictures. It cannot be denied that in the free countries so styled, the most abusive journals, have generally the widest circulation. Party spirit is prone to pardon, or applaud almost any excesses with the pen.

A very reprehensible practice marks too generally the management of the daily prints of this country. Editors admit into them, without hesitation, statements injurious to private reputations, although vouched by no respectable name, or known to proceed from sources notoriously turbulent or despicable. The ready insertion of vindictory statements does not constitute full amends for the wound inflicted on the feelings, and the mischief done to the character, of the party aggrieved. What is published in the paper of to-day, may be read by hundreds or thousands whom that of to-morrow may never reach; the calumny flies on the wings of the wind, doubles in direction; while the refutation follows at a distance, falls perhaps into a different track; and depends upon the benevolence or generosity of mankind. The class, native auxiliary, we fear, than their
own, are most liable.

is due to the inequality of the chances, and such the

value and delicacy of private or professional reputation, and the least impeachment of it should be laid upon, on whose authority next to indisputable.

There are quarters, to which whatever injury and calumny may proceed from the lips of any man, will be given; there are charges which no person of even a moderate self-respect can particularly notice. Blackguards who make slander and scurrility a part of their profession, enjoy therefore a sort of impunity, of which, as they are generally cowards at bottom, they avail themselves to the utmost. The contempt with which they are treated, and the odious light in which they appear to all the respectable and discerning members of the community, are insufficient to check the current of their vulgar malice. They have their task of defamation to perform—they have their innate propensities to gratify,—despising themselves, they become callous to that sentiment and manifestation of scorn in others.

All parties, especially at seasons of strong excitement, are intolerant and prone to excesses. Whoever will criticise them impartially,—whoever shall abstain from incensing their idols,—may be certain of approach and obloquy from both sides. To each, are usually attached champions of particularly fierce zeal and arrogant temper,—sometimes desperate ribalds—whom, inasmuch as they are not wholly and devotedly with them, as against them, who, incapable themselves of independent and disinterested action, can conceive for others, only sinister motives, will rail accordingly—believing themselves somewhat in the right, but in general reckless whether they be in the wrong.

Open, declared enmity, however ~~more~~ sparing abuse, however opprobrious, however ~~more~~ of an implacable, extreme war—are ~~more~~ to be respected

than a collusive, oblique hostility emphatically disclaimed but steadily prosecuted, the most injurious insinuations couched in affected regrets and general inquiries—an aspect of moderation, professions of good will, complaints of violence and injustice, with a train of assertion and reasoning the reverse in spirit and purpose—the pretence of public good employed to advance selfish designs

“ Statesmen often merely allow or connive at detraction, which they would be ashamed to be imagined capable of suggesting or actively satisfying—that which they tolerate, or in which they secretly rejoice, they may still despise, secretly too contemning the writers who attempt to serve them by such means. A putzim should not lose self-respect in the fervour of his zeal—a mere instrument encouraged or suffered to do dirty work and though likely to be rewarded by place or pelt, still an object of pity or scorn, is truly a miserable and odious being whatever face he may wear, or however close the confidence with which he may be treated for a time.

It behoves all men of good character and respectable standing, to withhold at all time their personal countenance from those who have neither, who have notoriously earned infamy or discredit. The practice of a strict discrimination between moral worth and licentious conduct, and the indulgence of a just pride is to personal intercourse, are among the best safeguard of the community in reference to general decorum and probity of action. Public opinion is of mighty influence to suppress vulgar excesses and regulate the pursuits of unprincipled selfishness, but it cannot be fully operative unless it be carried into effect by those members of society who, from their connexions and stations united to honourable repute, enjoy dignity and weight, and attract notice and reflection to what they say and do. It may be observed

incidentally that they cannot lend themselves to unusual and unedifying associations, even for political purposes, without doing injury to their own names as well as to the cause of virtue and decorum.

Even Paganini was obliged to vindicate himself from disreputable anecdotes which were widely circulated against him. His case is a curious example of the origin and progress of slander. Being a prodigy of genius, he was—therefore, we may say—represented as a monster of iniquity. The world would not ascribe to him virtue, but vice, in proportion to the transcendence of his inspiration and skill as a musician. The Devil was actually seen, clothed in red, with horns and a tail, at his elbow, guiding his arm and directing his bow! Such credit as was yielded to this vision, is not more wonderful than the infatuation with which most of the charges against masonry are believed by a number of worthy persons. A pleasant part of the Paganini anecdote is, that it must be the Evil One who gave his performance a miraculous excellence. Why should not exquisite music be the work rather of some heavenly, angelic nature? It may be regarded as a singular propensity of mankind, that they so often attribute the prodigies of human talent and toil to the Spirit of Hell, when they have their choice of prompters and auxiliaries from above. Some years ago we had an acquaintance,—a sensible man on most occasions,—who entertained an aversion to a meritorious clergyman, a superior preacher, and who seriously ascribed every good sermon which he heard from him, to the dictation of the same horned and tailed auxiliary that was so distinctly seen at the elbow of the great violin-player. We should all learn to be charitable, and attribute what is admirable or good to celestial influences, when we choose to look beyond human power.

We can never concede the title of gentleman, in the best sense of the term, to him who will play the part of an ambushed accuser, without meaning, ultimately at least, to render his charges tangible to the party arraigned, by the production of his evidence, and to support them by his direct responsibility. The editor of any journal ought not to admit anonymous imputations, without having strong reason to believe them well founded, and being prepared to furnish the individual attacked, with all the means of vindication and redress. It is time that the rights of character should be understood in this country, and protected by public opinion. Every citizen should make this his rule of conduct—"I will attach no credit to any arraignment, not accompanied, or to be accompanied by substantial testimony and the authority of a responsible name." *

The subject of anonymous insinuations is not bound to answer them; the public are not entitled to believe or even suspect ill of any one on such insinuations. Hence, nothing can be expected in throwing them out, but either to betray the public into what is not just, or to feed malevolence. He who, in disguise, imputes guilt to another by name, in dark hints, and significant queries, *cannot* be a man of nice honour and true spirit: he *may* be a personal enemy, an envious rival, or a mere contriver of mischief, so degenerate as to love detraction for itself and delight in pulling down reputations gratuitously.

A true patriot will incur risk to serve the public; virtuous design and manly courage do not shrink from responsibility—cowardice and malice lurk in the dark, take counterfeit shapes, and then ply at ease their injurious allusions, their broad reflections, and their round falsehoods.

In some cases calumny has unlimited scope to assert ; innocence but little room for vindication : the peculiar situation, the honour, the paramount duties of the accused may serve to screen false imputations from full detection and absolute exposure.

“ The Devil himself,” saith Shakspeare, “ will not eat a woman ;” but your electioneering *gentry* can forget that they were born of the sex, and will, without scruple or stint, mangle a woman’s feelings and devour her reputation.

In the course of the French Revolution the most profigate and reckless lampooners and brawlers were brought from distant parts, to Paris, in order to shake incessantly the torches of discord, to inflame the fury and deepen the horrors of faction, and thus to drive one dominant party, or all parties, the sooner, to utter *odium* and destruction. It was immaterial, to these agents, for whom or against whom they performed their detestable work :—vilification and confusion were their immediate objects ; and their fierce obloquy and grim exultation increased in proportion to the tempests of anarchy and the torrents of blood.

Without entertaining so favourable an opinion of Marie Antoinette, as Burke and Scott express, and the Memoirs of Me. Campan are adapted to inspire, we are sure that her faults and offences were grossly exaggerated, and more than expiated by her final unparalleled, most dismal sufferings, inflicted with a black and savage ferocity of soul, and an abominable perversion of the manly character, which might make us imagine that her persecutors were a new, miscreate species of the human family ; and which would seem, alone, to warrant all the epithets, definitions, and analogies lavished by Burke on the *Jacobins* in general. Misrepresentation, slander and satire, never accomplished their ends in a more remarkable and fatal

degree, than in the instances of the martyr Louis and his queen. To those evils, in no small proportion, the discredit of the monarchy is to be attributed; just as that of the clerical order was produced not less by the unwearied and fanatical hostilities of Atheism and Libertinism, "embodied into factions, accredited and avowed," than by the degeneracy of the Bishops, the dissoluteness of the Abbés, or the depression of the Curates. Of melancholy reverse of fortune all history furnishes no examples,—not excepting that of Napoleon in Dresden and Napoleon in St. Helena—so signal and awful, if we look back on the situation of the parties at the period of their marriage, or only a few years before the catastrophic, as the cases—of Louis hurled from a throne which his ancestors had occupied for nine hundred years, and conveyed from "the palace of contempt to the dungeon of horror," and thence to the scaffold,—and of Marie Antoinette, the descendant of twenty-four emperors, and the daughter of Maria Theresa, dragged, in her thirty-ninth year, to the same ignominious death; her dishevelled locks gray and her visage haggard with complicated wretchedness; her hands closely tied; her attire mean and scant; in an open tumbril—her companion an apostate priest whom she loathed as a confessor; followed by an immense crowd of her once adoring and gallant subjects, now yelling exultation over her agony, and nearly realizing Burke's daring image of "a drunken delirium from the hot spirit drawn out of the alembic of hell."

The official account of Marie Antoinette's execution says: "Elle avoit l'air calme, et paroisoit insensible aux cris de vive la république, à bas la tyrannie, qu'elle n'a cessé d'entendre sur son passage:—après sa mort l'exécuteur montra sa tête au peuple, au milieu des cris mille fois répétés de vive la République. The official report of

Louis's decapitation says: "sa tête est tombée, *les citoyens ont trempé leurs piques et leurs mouchoirs dans son sang.*"—See the work entitled *Procès des Bourbons*, in two octavos, containing all the details of the dethronement, imprisonment, trials and execution of the sovereigns.

It has been often said that true honour is not *touchy*, but generally indifferent about slander; neither the common sense nor common experience of mankind warrants this theory, supposing *touchy* to mean sensitive. The most pure and delicate, those who have laboured most earnestly to deserve the best reputation—are apt to be "tremulously alive" to every kind of obloquy and injurious suspicion. Honour may be thoroughly sound, and incorruptible, but not *robust* so as to be unaffected by opinion; falsehood alone can annoy it, and does severely in the plurality of cases. There are, indeed, public offices and situations, so particularly and constantly liable to obloquy, that the natural susceptibility of true honour is gradually lessened; yet, eminent men of the noblest virtue public and private, have even perished, in advanced stages, from tenderness, or irritability with regard to their fame. Few are content or able to live down merely "the judgments of ignorance and the inventions of malice." Querulousness, indeed, is never manly, and rarely serviceable; but sensitiveness is common where firm, conscious honour and high moral courage are united. On this account slander is doubly mischievous and detestable.

FORCE OF IMAGINATION,

ILLUSTRATED AS TO LOVE, BY TWO NARRATIVES
FOUNDED ON FACT.

I.

POTENT PHANTASM.

IN one of those rare but interesting societies, where amusement can be obtained without the intervention of play, where reigns the free interchange of sentiment so grateful to a cultivated intellect, where the only desire is to please, and the only solicitude to instruct, our conversation accidentally turned on the difference between real and visionary objects. We endeavoured to trace their analogy, and ascertain the relation that subsists between a continuous dream and a long meditation, between the enthusiastic contemplatist, and the cool observer. It was suggested, that a fervid imagination sometimes creates a belief of reality, equally strong with the evidence of actual vision. This position was generally controverted, and the discussion continued with some warmth, when a French officer remarked, that he believed a single fact more satisfactory than a whole volume of abstract reasoning, and would, therefore, with the assent of the company, relate an event calculated to throw some light on the subject. He added, that the circumstances he was about to narrate, had happened to a captain of his regiment, that they had fallen under his own observation, and that all his brother officers could vouch for their authenticity. He promised to observe the most scrupulous exactitude in his recital, except in the substitution of fictitious names, and claimed indulgence for some minutiae of detail that he had heard too often to be able to omit, and for the reflections he might occasion-

ally interweave with a subject in which he felt deeply interested. The company acquiesced, as may be supposed, without much difficulty. His story was as follows :

“ After a severe engagement in Italy, during the course of the last war, our wounded officers were transported to Milan. Dorville, one of the number, was carried to the hospital. His wounds left but small hopes of his life ; but the powerful assistance of art, together with the still more operative aid of a youthful and vigorous constitution, snatched him from the jaws of death. On resuming the use of his reason, after an alternate delirium and stupor of more than a month, he made numberless inquiries as to his situation, the symptoms of his disorder, and all those particulars so interesting to a man, who is in some manner restored to existence, who experiences new sensations, and who feels the buoyancy and vivifying energy of nascent health, a delight only known to those, who have recovered from dangerous indispositions.

“ A nun, of the order of Charity, answered him with as much modesty as if she had not essentially contributed to his cure, and as circumstantially, as if she had never left him for a moment. He opened his curtains to view the person, who gave him such affable and satisfactory replies. Judge of his astonishment, when he saw, at his bed-side, a young woman of about eighteen years of age. He remarked a pair of eyes beaming with candour and beneficence ; he caught an affectionate but timid glance ; he surveyed one of those tender, intelligent, and pensive countenances, which excite a more lively interest, and are more powerfully attractive, than even consummate beauty. He was struck with the elegance of her form, and the dignity of her demeanour, and captivated by an assemblage of graces, veiled under a habit that added new

stimulus to desire, by holding out insuperable obstacles to enjoyment.

“ Dorville, amazed to find so many charms in an asylum of misery, was still more so, when he understood that Adelaide, the name of the nun, had been his only attendant during his illness, that she had watched over him both night and day, with the most admirable patience and tender solicitude, that she had scarcely allowed herself a moment of repose, and in fine that he owed her his life. Born with one of those ardent tempers, which render a man, at the same time, so amiable and so unhappy, which augment our miseries, by amplifying our affections, Dorville sublimated every sentiment into a passion. He immediately abandoned himself to the utmost excess of sensibility. He no longer dared to accept of the services which she unceasingly proffered. He conjured her, upon the approach of night, to retire, and it was upon that condition alone that he himself could be induced to take repose. But repose was not long reserved for him. He was seized with a passion too violent to be misunderstood. The deference due to Adelaide’s habit, gratitude for her benevolence, and the awe inspired by the purity of her manners, bound him to conceal an attachment, which every effort to hide only served to disclose. He soon perceived this effect by her sudden reserve. Fearful of losing all, he then hazarded an avowal of what he had secretly sworn never to reveal. He expected a repulse, met with it, and was almost overwhelmed. Every topic of consolation which she suggested, only operated to heighten his despair: every motive adduced to conquer his love, only increased its intensity: every endearment of condolence appeared an additional torment. His mistress, agonized by her own feelings, resolved to leave him, and was upon the point of aban-

doning her patient to a sister nun, when one of his wounds broke out afresh, and her compassion forced her to remain.

“ Our regiment was about that time ordered into winter-quarters at Milan. I visited my friend every day. I there found Adelaide, and witnessed her assiduities. She sometimes dressed the wound before me, and I have frequently seen tears fall, which she in vain laboured to suppress. Dorville never spoke ; but his eyes were piercing, and his silence full of passion. So much delicacy, united to such vehemence of affection, a language so irresistibly eloquent, the sympathy of misfortune, that persuasive energy of soul, which characterizes true love, all combined to inspire Adelaide with a passion equally ardent. She trembled at its approach, but did not hesitate to entrust him with her sentiments. She knew him to be generous, and thought her virtue less endangered by implicating his honour in her defence. In making the most solemn vows that it should be inviolably respected, he calculated too little on the infirmity of human nature. He soon disclaimed their obligation, and lavished caresses, prayers, and tears. Adelaide reminded him of his promise, and a tender word from her usually calmed his transports. ‘ What ! ’ would she say, ‘ must my ruin be the price of my attachment ? Would you entail infamy on her whom you love ? ’ He threw himself at her feet, renewed his protestations of repentance and respect, and felt that the repulses of innocence, however irksome at the moment, are not altogether devoid of pleasurable ingredients for the man, who respects the object of his love. When he reflected on the sanctity of her habit, on her artless innocence, on her many and pungent sorrows, he accused himself of a want of generosity, and resolved to abandon his pursuit forever ; but no sooner did his mis-

tress appear, than every resolution was instantly forgotten.

“Adelaide, supported by her piety, by the recollection of her vows, and by the retrospect of a life, until then irreproachable, for a long time successfully combated the violence of her passion. Her triumph was, however, embittered by that secret and corrosive sorrow, which ‘sheds no tear,’ ‘but consumes the heart.’ The idea particularly that she rendered him miserable, for whom she would have sacrificed her life, became too oppressive to be endured. This impression, which no love truly ardent can ever withstand, determined her fate. She yielded: and the day that crowned the wishes of her lover, was for her a day of unutterable despair. From that moment she thought she read her shame in every eye. Her religious principles agitated her conscience with all the terrors of remorse. That love, which had enslaved her, which had cost her so much, she no longer regarded, but as the most atrocious of crimes. When she fulfilled the duties of her order, the most noble and the most useful, but at the same time the most melancholy and appalling, that a religious society could impose, or human beneficence select, the scenes of death continually present to her eyes, deadened the fire of sense, and excruciated a mild and timorous mind with all the agonies of the bitterest compunction.

“Adelaide’s griefs became every day more and more poignant. Her violent struggles between love and duty, and the fatigue of incessant attendance on Dorville, soon overpowered a weak frame. She was attacked by a fever which, from the commencement, was predicted to be mortal, and which hurried her rapidly to the grave.

“Dorville, who had carefully concealed his passion from the world, could not dissemble his sensibility for her loss.

The most fatal consequences were apprehended from the first transports of his despair: but the effervescence of the moment soon subsided, to give place to a gloomy and morbid melancholy. He foretold that he would soon follow her; no longer slept; and refused to take nourishment of any kind.

“ We were deeply affected with his deplorable situation, and used every endeavour, but without effect, to rouse him from his dejection. Alarmed at the futility of our efforts, we one day, in the course of conversation, expostulated with a warmth which from the motive, could not be displeasing. We tenderly reproached him for his want of confidence, conjured him to listen to our entreaties; we even had recourse to tears, when he hastily interrupted us and replied: ‘ My friends, your attempts are fruitless; it is impossible to soften my sorrows; they must last as long as my life. What can console a man for such a loss? Absence—but I have not that resource.’

“ He stopt. We waited in silence for an explanation of these strange words—his countenance suddenly became more animated; he rose and exclaimed, ‘ Adlaide is dead! dead indeed! but not absent! She is there,’ added he, pointing to an arm-chair in the room. ‘ Yes, she is there! I see her just as I see you. She looks at me; listens to me; if I approach, she retires, but never disappears.’

“ He was again silent and we forbore reflections, which could be productive of no beneficial effect on a malady too far removed from the common stamp to yield to ordinary remedies. Chance, oftentimes the most propitious on such occasions, inspired us at least with some hopes of saving our friend. A public festival happened to be given at Milan. All those detestable women, who, as it is said, preserve the morals of a city by corrupting them, attended

as usual. In traversing the place, I was attracted by the remarkable resemblance which one of them bore to Adelaide. I mentioned the circumstance to a brother officer, and asked him if he wished to see a portrait of Dorville's mistress, probably more exact, and certainly more substantial than the phantom which haunted his imagination. His surprise was soon equal to mine. On examining her features more narrowly, we found the likeness almost perfect. We immediately determined to take advantage of this singular encounter for the recovery of our friend. Convinced that the 'ideal vision' must vanish before the reality, and the *force of imagination* cede to the testimony of sense, we formed a plan to present this woman to Dorville in Adelaide's dress. Having agreed with her on her disguise, on the rendezvous, the signal on which she was to present herself, and everything requisite for the performance of her part, we went in search of Dorville, and pressed him to give us a last mark of friendship. 'We are about to part,' said we, closely embracing him, 'and we shall never perhaps meet again.' Seeing him moved, we continued our importunities, and exacted as the proof required, his company to supper that evening. He could not refuse—he arrived in due time and sat down to table. Not a word escaped him until the end of our repast, when, in order to excite those emotions we thought necessary to a total revolution of ideas, we spoke to him of the fatal day, on which he inhaled the last sigh of his mistress. Without making a reply, he fixed his eyes steadfastly on an obscure part of the room, arose, and extended his arms, as if about to embrace the object that his fancy thus realized. We then gave the appointed signal. The fictitious Adelaide appeared—he perceived her, fell backwards, trembled violently, and exclaimed, 'Oh my friends!—my friends! save me—I am lost—I

saw but one, and now I see two.' We immediately endeavoured to undeceive him. He was seized with strong convulsions, and died, calling on the name of Adelaide."

II.

FATAL ILLUSION.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF AN AMERICAN TRAVELLER IN FRANCE.

One of the most imposing and interesting, though not the largest, of the private *chateaux*, which I found in France, stands near to the banks of rapid Rhone, a few miles distant from the town of *Pont-Saint-Esprit*. It is built in the Gothic style of the seventeenth century, but has an air of greater antiquity; and from the aspect of its towers seen at a distance as you enter a forest of primæval oaks connected with the domain; from its insulated situation, and the images ruddily carved on its exterior in imitation of

"The brawny Prophets who in robes so rich,
At distance due possess the crisped niche"

—You might suppose it to be a structure of the middle ages. I wandered for a whole day through stately woods traversed by glittering streamlets, and over spacious halls and long corridors and an intricate maze of apartments, hung with Flemish tapestry—all nearly a perfect solitude:—and I may truly say that I realized delights similar to those with which Thomson invests his castle of Indolence. But enough of description for the present. It is time for me to deal in incident, and I shall, therefore, proceed at once to relate an adventure, which befell a friend of mine at this chateau, and which I heard from his own mouth.

In the year 1799, M. N——l, a colonel in the French army, and a man of a lively as well as generous and intrepid disposition, when on his way to visit a sick parent at Avignon, being fatigued with the *Diligence*, or public stage, which he had chosen as his conveyance,

hired a horse within thirty miles of Pont-Saint-Esprit with the intention of proceeding so far on horseback, and there resuming his seat in the lumbering vehicle. After pursuing the proper route at a very leisurely pace, for the greater part of the day, he unwittingly suffered his Rosinante to select his own path. He found himself at length, as the sun descended below the horizon, on the borders of a thick grove, and in a broken region which exhibited no traces of a high road. He here paused for some minutes, shook off his reverie, examined his situation with an anxious eye, and then galloped forward at random, until, discovering neither house nor individual in the open country, he plunged into the wood.

It was now twilight, and he began to entertain fears of being obliged to remain until the morning, under a canopy more suitable to the aims and tastes of an astrologer than to those of a hungry traveller, whose experience, as a soldier, of "lying out," had not endeared the practice to his fancy. He had not proceeded far in the entangled copse, when he descried through the waving boughs of the forest trees, the towers of the chateau of which I have spoken. In that direction he pushed vigorously on, so as speedily to reach the great lawn which stretches before the western front of the edifice, and to have as full a view of this side as the thickening shadows of night would allow. No light appeared at any of the windows, and nothing remained to be done but to dismount, fasten his horse in the shrubbery, and knock with his utmost strength at the massy portal which was just perceptible in the gloom of the scene. He had not hammered long before he distinguished the sound of footsteps and voices, and enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing from an elderly man in the dress of a labourer, who carried a taper in his hand, and cautiously opened the smaller door in the middle of the arch-way,—the inquiry what was wanted

by the person without. When our traveller explained his case, he was admitted at once, and saw himself in the midst of a group, consisting of several females and two or three men of different ages, none of whom appeared to be above the condition of the upper peasantry. The oldest of the women invited him, with a countenance of good-humoured civility, to enter the first apartment on the right, where, she trusted, he would do them the honour to partake of a family-supper. The whole party then followed her with the stranger, who had not long to wait before he was seated at a board covered with a plain but palatable fare, and rendered doubly grateful by that easy, unaffected, alert hospitality which characterizes, in every part of France, the class to which his hosts belonged. They were the rustic tenants of a small part of the chateau, who were suffered, as is usual, to inhabit it free of rent as a compensation for protecting it from depredation. It was then in litigation between two families (neither of them the lawful proprietors) whose chiefs were at Paris, and who had not, for years, either occupied or visited the estate.

Our traveller, though all his questions were answered readily and fully, could not but perceive a general gravity unusual at such repasts ; and, at intervals, indications of strong distress, in the faces of some of the assemblage. As they conversed about the ravages committed on the property in the course of the revolution ; the depopulation of some of the neighbouring villages ; and the butchery of numbers of the gentry whom they had been accustomed to regard with reverence and love, and remembered as their guardians and benefactors, he ascribed to their melancholy recollections, the appearances just mentioned. The weariness produced by the exercise of the day, united to an oppression of spirits arising from the scene

of horrors thus brought to his own memory, induced him to express early, a wish to retire to the chamber which they might be pleased to allot him. His hostess, immediately, and as if relieved by his suggestion, put a candle into the hands of one of the young men present, and directed that the gentleman should be shown to a room prepared for him in the other wing of the extensive edifice. He followed the man, whose physiognomy was too sluggish and unmeaning to invite any questions,—through long-drawn passages and ample saloons of high-pitched roofs and lined with fretted wood work, until they reached a wide oaken staircase leading to a gallery with several chambers of the same exterior. Into one of these he was led, and in it he found a crackling fire and a large bedstead with closed curtains made of the thick, coarser damask which was commonly so employed in the mansions of the *seigneurs* of the old *régime*. As soon as the guide had set down the candle and left him, he closed the door, without pushing the bolt however; and undressing himself with all despatch, covering the blaze in the hearth, and putting out the candle, he drew back the curtains only enough to admit his body, and took at once a fixed posture on his side towards the door. In the course of about twenty minutes, when his ideas began to cross each other, and all the images before his mind to mingle in confusion—a delightful state after a long journey and a good supper,—the deepening slumber was broken by a gentle noise like the cautious opening of the door. He retained his position, and dividing the curtains merely so far as to allow himself to see what passed, without being seen, he observed two young women enter the room, in the neat, quaint attire of the female peasantry of the Rhone; one with a small basket, and the other with needle work and a light in her hand. Curiosity and

surprise kept him motionless and silent, while they drew out the table, put upon it what they carried, seated themselves near it, and stirred up the fire. This being done, one of the fair intruders took a part of the needle work, and the other emptied softly a portion of the contents of the basket, which consisted of a couple of platters, knives and forks, a cold fowl and some fruit. • Then followed a smart conversation in an under tone, of which the astonished traveller could catch enough to learn that they were far from suspecting any attentive ear to be by, and had made arrangements to perform a long, though very comfortable vigil. His own eye-lids were too importunate to admit of this interruption, for more than a quarter of an hour after the regular dialogue had commenced. He began to stir in his place so as to cause a rustling of the damask. One of the nymphs started, and stammered to the other, with a face of alarm, what had happened. He remained quiet as soon as he remarked this effect. They both gazed earnestly and fearfully at the bed, but observing all to be still, they seemed to recover their confidence and returned to their chat in a more subdued accent. Resolved upon making a further experiment and ascertaining the intent of the untimely visit, he moved again, and when their eyes were again directed, with an expression of dismay, to the curtains, he opened them hastily and exhibited himself seated in the bed, in his undress, with his long white night-cap on his head.

In an instant the women precipitated themselves from the chamber and down the stair-case, overturning the table and its contents in their flight and making the vaulted gallery re-echo with their screams. His own astonishment was almost equal to what theirs might be supposed to be, and did not suffer him to fall back upon his pillow. He rose, lighted the candle which had been

extinguished in the disaster of the table, collected the scattered provision, and went to the chamber-door in order to know whether anything more could be heard. All was now silent.—Sensible of the difficulty of finding his way to the inhabited part of the castle, should he undertake to inquire further, and ascribing the affair to some mistake which the affrighted damsels would discover as soon as they reached the other wing, he bolted the door, determined to prevent the recurrence of the evil, and was about to retrace his steps to the bed, when he heard distinctly the noise of various persons tumultuously gaining the landing and approaching the chamber. He turned; advanced to the door, and opened it, with the candle in his hand and in the dishabille in which he had lain down.

As he presented himself, he saw the whole family group, with an addition to their number, struggling with each other, who should be, not foremost, but hindmost in the march, the two alarmists far in the back-ground, and all in evident consternation. No sooner was the figure of my wonder-struck friend full in their view, than an universal cry of horror was put forth, and the whole party made a headlong retreat down the stair-way. One only of the number pressed forward; this was a female of strikingly handsome features, with a general cast that spoke the operation of the strongest mingled emotions of terror, recent grief, and joyful hope. She rushed on to catch him in her arms, crying out—*Je veux le voir*;—*Je veux l'embrasser*;—*Il est revenu pour m'emmener avec lui*.—“I will see him”—“I will embrace him;” “he has come back to take me away with him.” At the moment she had got near enough to distinguish clearly his person and visage, she uttered a piercing shriek, with the exclamation, *Ah, non ce n'est pas lui*.—*Ah! it is not he!* tottered, and fell swooning into the arms of two of the

fugitives, whose concern for her had given them courage to return, and who were too much engaged in extricating her from her position to note, themselves, the common object of the panic. So interesting and extraordinary was her whole appearance; her mien so wild and ardent; the transition from sudden, elated expectation, to profound despair, so rapid and marked in her eye and accent, and so pitcous in the entire expression—that the Colonel, as he has assured me, was transfixed and absorbed by this incident, until her companions had disappeared with her, and he was left again in complete silence and solitude. As soon as he was able to rally his thoughts, he resolved to explore the chamber, imagining that he might discover something which would serve as a clue to the singular part which he was playing in the enigmatical drama of the night. The taper being still in his grasp, he looked narrowly into the corners and closets of the apartment, under the bedstead, and at length broadly within the curtains, and there witnessed what solved at once a part of the mystery. It was a *corpse*; the dead body of a man in a cap and shirt resembling his own, and placed near the wall on the bed. The position which he had taken in going to rest, and the quick approach of sleep, prevented him from touching or noticing in any way this unimaginable partner; and when he was roused by the two women—whose business will now be readily understood to have been that of watching by the dead body—his attention was engrossed by them and their proceedings.

He confessed to me that, familiar as his profession had rendered him with this exhibition of mortality, the spectacle, under such circumstances, startled and even affrighted him for a moment. The cause of the alarm of the household, on seeing him, was then apparent. His candle bearer had conducted him to the wrong chamber,

and he had been taken either for the ghost or the reanimated frame of the defunct. It occurred to him after he had meditated a little, and began to comprehend also the conduct of the distressed female, that he would throw on his clothes and endeavour to find the right course to the lodgings of the family, for the purpose of mutual explanation. He had scarcely dressed himself before the old peasant and his wife, followed by two or three men, ascended the stairs, and though still quaking with fear, had no difficulty in recognizing him. They at first eagerly demanded his assistance in the awful emergency, but contriving to obtain silence, he quickly opened their eyes to the true state of the matter. In the reciprocal éclaircissement which ensued, he learned that the unfortunate girl who had so strongly excited his sympathy and so much increased his perplexity, was the niece of the old pair, and the corpse the remains of a young soldier to whom she was betrothed and who had died that morning in the castle, of a sudden illness. The blundering rustic commissioned to lead the stranger to the chamber designed for him, had elected the first apartment in the same gallery, in which he saw the glare of a fire, and which happened to be the one where the body was deposited.

Our traveller retired as quickly as possible from the earnest apologies of his worthy hosts to indulge his returning drowsiness on the right bed. He slept soundly, notwithstanding his double adventure; rose early, and last no time in mounting his horse and regaining, under their instructions, the turnpike of Pont-Saint-Esprit. Before his departure, however, he inquired after the bereaved niece, and suffered real affliction in being informed that she had passed the night in alternate stupor and phrenzy. On his return from Avignon, he was told by the master of the inn at which he stopped, that the poor creature,

whom he could not fail to remember as well as the whole-night scene, had survived her lover only a very short time. She had become so disordered in her fancy as to be unable to comprehend the explanations given, and to imbibe the strange and horrible impression that his spirit had, indeed, moved from the bed, but being offended with her, had, on her approach, taken an unknown form in order to escape her embrace and her fellowship.

THE VETO.

THE veto is essentially a royal prerogative—an attribute of hereditary monarchy—a power and safeguard of the *crown*. When *absolute*, it has been always considered and represented, by the highest political authorities, as giving a complete preponderance and arbitrary character to royal sovereignty. It was adopted, with a qualification, by the framers of our constitution, because they generally deemed the executive branch in our system, too weak, and the legislative so strong relatively, that this might reduce the other to insignificance, unless the qualified veto should be given for self-protection.

The framers of our system found it in the English constitution,—a limited monarchy; they saw in English history that it had not been frequently abused, and that the crown was almost uniformly baffled in the end when it was exerted inordinately. They concluded, therefore, that it must be comparatively innoxious in our system, and perhaps they relied upon the power in Congress similar to that of the House of Commons, which was the dependence of the people in England. Delolme styles the *Crown*, in the British system of government, a “*Veto* of extraordinary power,” and he adds—that it is because

the people (or Parliament) possess a counterpoise in the right of granting or withholding the necessary *supplies*, that the Crown may, without danger, be intrusted with the great authority of the Veto. The basis of the English constitution—the fundamental principle on which all others rest—is that the legislative power belongs to Parliament alone ; that is, the power of establishing laws, and of abrogating, changing or explaining them. It was the original, excessive power, or the despotic attempts of the kings that made England free, because the very excess gave rise to the spirit of union and concerted resistance. When the constitution became balanced or more popular, the restraints on the Veto were well understood on both sides ; and the mode of exerting it indicated the deference which the Commons exacted :—When the king refuses his assent to a bill, *le Roi s'advisera* is the mild official phrase.

Many generations have gone by since Parliament has been addressed by the King in such a strain. The Polish *veto* paralyzed the *republic* of Poland, and was one of the chief causes of all the misfortunes of that country. To ascend to antiquity, the *veto* of the Roman Tribune was so abused as to disorder the Roman polity, and contributed materially to prepare that state of things which begot despotism. It was by adding the tribunitian power (*intercedere vetare*) to the military, in their own persons, that the Roman Emperors consummated the ruin of the Republic. Augustus assumed the popular title and veto power of a tribune. “It gave him, under a republican name,” says the historian, “the whole force and energy of the government. He knew the art of disguising tyranny under constitutional forms.” Tacitus observes in another place, that “Augustus, under that artful disguise, found the way, without the name of *King* or *Dic-*

tator—to make himself superior to the *legislative and executive powers of the commonwealth.*" We have not room to follow out the history of the imperial tribunitian prerogative; but we may refer to the Dissertations, (in the 27th volume of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Belles Lettres) of *the Roman Emperor in the Senate*.

In the annals of the Roman Empire, there are remarkable lessons of moderation and delicacy in the use of the veto and the treatment of the Senate as a constituted authority and executive council, by several of the worst as well as of the best of the successors of the Roman Cæsar. "It is more proper," said *Marcus Aurelius*, speaking of the senators who formed his council of state, "that I should submit to the opinion of so many and such friends, than that so many and such friends should follow my will." *Æquius est, ut ego tot et talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot et tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur.* *Claudius* was the slave of his freedmen and women; but these never commanded him to annul the decrees of the Senate. "I am a citizen and am obliged to obey the will of the nation." *Nero* never attempted anything against the *jurisdiction* of the Senate. *Vespasian* affected to refuse the tribunitian power, particularly the *veto* on the Senate's decrees, as exorbitant. *Pliny*, in his panegyric of *Trajan*, boasts that the Emperor never allowed himself to annul or prevent the execution of the Senate's decrees.

Few of our reading contemporaries are ignorant of the discussions respecting the *veto* power, or its effects, in the first years of the French revolution. Sir Walter Scott says—"It was by using the *veto* that *Louis XVI.* at length lost his life." This prerogative excited much of the odium which overwhelmed the French monarchy. In

forming a new constitution, the National Assembly examined and argued it pro and con for many days with the utmost earnestness and exertion. The decision of that enlightened body was—673 Ayes against 325 Nays, in favour of the *suspensive* or qualified *veto* in preference to the *absolute*. The scheme which was adopted is stated in this sentence of Scott's historical outline. “The king had the *much-grudged* privilege of putting a veto on any decree or law of the legislature, which was to have the effect of suspending the passage of the law, until the proposition had been renewed in a second assembly, after which, if it passed, the royal sanction was held as granted.” The best amendment that could be made to our constitution would, perhaps, be an imitation of the French plan:—if a second Congress should pass (by a simple majority) the act or resolution rejected by the President, then the veto power to be no longer applicable to it. Mirabeau contended, in the Assembly, for the absolute veto; but he professed to rely upon such checks and obstacles to its abuse as he traced in the British constitution—refusal of *supplies*, control over the *civil list*, and frequent sessions of Parliament.—He argued that the similar powers of the French Legislature, the annual meetings of that body, the republican spirit of the people, the whole order and apprehension of things, would render almost impossible the mere idea of the aggressive or arbitrary employment of such a power, or any exertion of it except for mere self-defence. He acknowledged that it appeared absurd “to give to *one* man the right to say—‘I oppose the general will—the reason of the nation, as expressed and maintained by her immediate representatives.’” He replied affirmatively to the question—“would it not be a despotism, that government wherein the King

could or would say—‘ such may be the will and opinion of the Legislature of the People—but mine is contrary and mine shall prevail.’ ”

Bankes, whose work on the Civil and Constitutional History of Rome forms one of the best commentaries extant on the Roman annals, represents the tribunitian power as having finally “ drawn everything into its vortex,” and “ obstructed the wholesome exertion of every other legitimate authority.” He has many occasions to note the excesses of the Tribunes; they were mostly demagogues; and he observes—“ whenever the power fell into active and mischievous hands, it was able, in fact, to check, control, counteract, and degrade every other authority in the commonwealth.” Montesquieu, when, in his *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, he mentions the creation of the Tribunitian magistracy, adds—“ But, from an eternal infirmity or disease of human nature, the Plebeians, who obtained tribunes for defence, employed them for the purpose of attack; by degrees they despoiled the Patricians of all their prerogatives; this engendered constant strife.” Ferguson may be designated as a republican historian. Let us cite some of the phrases of his Roman Republic. “ With the Tribunitian power were laid the foundations of some good, and of much harm to the commonwealth. * * * * Instead of being content with a representation to support and preserve their order with steadiness and moderation, the people proceeded to elect a few leaders, who, thenceforward, were to head every popular tumult, and to raise every wind of contention into a storm.” * * * * “ Turbulent citizens were honoured in proportion to the part which they took in support of the popular cause; and were successively raised to the office of tribune in reward of the animosity they had occasionally shown to the Senate,

and of the courage with which they had, in any case, withstood the authority of the magistrate, which it was now become a merit to brave." Niebuhr views the tribunate with more favour than almost any other political and historical critic; yet he makes this avowal.

"In the later history of the Roman republic we find the tribunitian power carried to such a height by the changes in the state of things and by its own usurpations, that it overtops the Consuls and the Senate, nay, the people itself; meanwhile no one had learnt from the experience of the past that those branches of the state, which were then in need of the same shelter as the plebeians had once needed, had a right to receive it. In the course of centuries things went so far that the Tribunes no longer stood over against the supreme authority as representatives of the nation, but were tyrants elected for the term of their office: a kind of national convention; as it was fancied during the revolutionary frenzy that, where the power of the elective body, far the greater part of which gave their votes without the slightest knowledge of what they were doing, appeared to be absolute, the authority it conferred was unlimited."

Extreme and irresistible liability to fatal abuse is a sound argument against the admission of any power. Concede the extreme, unlimited theory of Nullification, for example, to the several members of our Union, and we should ere long witness excesses and effects, analogous to those of the Tribune, and a nearer approximation still to the use and operation of the Polish *liberum veto*.

The following reference, in the ninth chapter of the first volume of Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, to our system, arrested our attention when we first opened that able work.

"The utility of admitting a mediating authority, even though purchased by some sacrifice of individual self-will or liberty, cannot be better exemplified than by adverting to the downfall of the federative states, whether ancient or modern, WHICH HAVE WANTED A CENTRAL POINT OF JUDICIAL UNION. No man ought to be judge in his own cause; and, great as the evil may prove when a Sultan or a Sophi

assumes that office, the oppressions of despotism only change their form, without being less vexatious, when the citizen has to combat a tyrant in every one of his equals. Time alone can show, whether the institutions of the Republics of English America, are capable of counteracting the vices and wickedness of democracy; but the political student will be instructed by observing, that, even now, there are symptoms of approaching dissensions between the Supreme Court and the States of the Union; which, if not repressed, must end either by destroying the controlling jurisdiction assigned to the judges who administer the Federal law; or by investing them with rights approaching to a sovereign prerogative and hitherto unknown to the Anglo-American constitution."

The felicity of the influence in the Roman case has been disputed by great authorities; but as to Poland, every historian and political critic who has noticed its influence, represents it as the spring of her fatal anarchy. Lord Brougham,—a Whig oracle—has described the Polish *liberum veto* as that “monstrous privilege, by which any one representative could break up the diet and *nullify* its acts,” and adduces it as a principal cause of the first misfortunes of Poland. We must be permitted to cite a single illustration, and in the words of the same writer.—“The Poles, jealous of a Sovereign who chose rather to reside in his hereditary than his elective dominions (referring to Augustus III.) had recourse always to the *liberum veto* for dissolving the diets which he convoked; and thus this distracted country was left, during the greater part of his reign, in a great measure, without any government.” The *liberum veto* became the destructive engine of foreign influence, as it would, if it should prevail, in our political system.

D I S R E S P E C T.

SOME persons appear to forget that *disrespect* is a relative term depending on circumstances ; and that the possessor of an office and the office itself are distinct objects.

The doctrine would be too strong for this country,—as a general one,—that complaints cannot be uttered against the conduct of a dignitary ; that his blows or his calumnies may not be repelled ; that, whatever be his conduct, he is hallowed by his functions ; that, in short, no means of self-defence, injurious to him, can be exerted, without violating decorum and the respect due to his station.

Americans would be the more averse to such a creed, as it has been uniformly that of despotic governments, under which it has produced acts of injustice and cruelty, holding and deserving a prominent place in the annals of our species. It has always proved excellent for the maintenance of tyranny and abuse, supreme and subaltern ; and it has been sometimes so enforced as to produce convulsions in state and sanguinary revolutions.

The Sultan, his relatives, or his minister, strikes, robs, or reviles the subject ;—if the latter remonstrates, or in any manner resists, he is cut down, strangled, or ruinously mulcted, as an atonement to the Majesty, whether in the chief, the kinsman or the agent, which he has impiously violated even by a murmur : more commonly, so deep is his impression of reverence for authority, that he offers his life to his oppressor as a propitiatory sacrifice. This realizes the true theory and relation of master and slave.

We have just happened to read an European instance in the Memoirs of Louis XIV., who had the deepest

sense of the sacredness of legitimacy and place. When one of his cousins had wantonly insulted a mere subject though of the highest rank, to such a degree that he was provoked to demand an apology, the King, considering that *the blood royal* was concerned, refused to hear the explanations of the aggrieved party, and would not see him until he had formally asked pardon of the aggressor. He had, besides, to appease by submission all the princes of the blood "who were highly incensed." According to the court ritual, no person ever *knocked* at the door of the King or a member of the royal family; but some might *scrape*. Lou's, on this occasion, would not allow access even by scraping, to a principal grandee, until he made reparation by full abasement, to the Royal consanguinity.

In Great Britain, the fundamental maxim, *the king can do no wrong*, is a perpetual panoply for the monarch: in day vore, toc that kingdom, it was virtually a rule that neither his kindred nor his favourites could err or sin. *Scandalum magnatum* covered all men in high places, n i could be made to reach every word, almost every look, offensive and derogatory to their highnesses and worships. "Disrespect" to acts of state, or the persons of statesmen,—we quote the language of history,—was heavily penal.

After the revolution of 1688, things took a different turn there—a cat might almost look on a king; but no very material change of the kind was felt in the relations between the colonies and the mother country. When the Provincials, by their public meetings or legislative assemblies, ventured to utter the slightest complaint or expostulation against oppressive decrees of the Council, abuses in the colonial department, or arbitrary measures of Parliament, nearly all the Britons cried out, horrible *disrespect!*—The addresses and petitions of our first

revolutionary congresses, though most affectionately and ceremoniously worded, were deemed excessively *disrespectful*; and when an appeal was hazarded, with a plain exposition of wrongs, to the *people* of Great Britain and Ireland, then the spirit of irreverence and *insubordination* was held to have become monstrous and absolutely insufferable. As for the American *Declaration of Independence*, that was a most outrageously *disrespectful* paper; it accused, in no very soft terms, the Lord's Anointed himself.

We have referred only to the impressions of the mother or patrician country;—for, our Congress, for example, of 1774, and the signers of the paper just mentioned, and their abettors, the insurgents or rebels, did not see their own proceedings in the same light; they were far from admitting that they had written or acted *disrespectfully*—they considered the point of right and wrong, the nature of the provocation, and the value and dignity of the interests to be vindicated; and they regarded those matters as determining the true character of the case. If a king and his ministers would persist in trampling on their constitutional liberties and traducing their motives and measures, they must feel themselves entitled to petition and remonstrate, and could see no alternative but disgrace or refutation and resistance.

So long ago as the time of the poet Pope, the question was asked—“What is more usual to warriors, than impatience of bearing the least affront or *disrespect*? ” They have, in fact, a certain sense of their own dignity and honour, for yielding to which they must be at least pardoned, or they will be unfit for any noble exploit or really useful end. To require of them to bear tamely and silently injustice and obloquy from any high quarter, is to exact what implies professional worthlessness and

national degradation. Above all, let us have no blood *official*, of unbounded license and inviolable sanctity.

Various cases have happened in our republic, or can be imagined, to which the foregoing matter might be well applied.

PASSION AND SELFISHNESS.

WE recollect the lines of one of the first of moralists among poets—

“ Passions, though *selfish*, if their means be fair
List under reason, and deserve her care ;
Those that imparted court a noble aim,
Exalt their kind, and take some virtue’s name.”

This is that refinement of the grosser part of the human constitution, which gives a superior tone to our whole being: but the *selfishness* which produces heinous crime, foul and deliberate murder, should be deemed the complete predominance of what is most evil and odious in that constitution. This principle is too often pardoned, treated with too much lenity, in the excesses which it causes when it obtains the ascendancy. Extreme meanness and extensive mischief then distinguish it, however; and should be visited with the contempt and disgust which are due to such traits. That motive which we universally despise in small transgressions, we not unfrequently excuse and pity in enormities. The spendthrift, or libertine, or drunkard, who despoils and afflicts parents, wife, family, awakens, in too many instances, a false compassion that extenuates his offence with the plea of youth, or passion, or temptation, or the common weakness of our species; but the whole evil is, mostly, the reckless and despicable gratification of *self*,—a callous

disregard of the rights, feelings and interests of others in the dearest relations of life—*ingratitude*, also, in its essence, as well as a violation of all duties and ties. Sentimentality is ill bestowed, indeed, upon all that is opposite in quality and effect to the merits of disinterestedness, self-denial or control, or laborious and generous sacrifice, or fond, active, exercised sympathies, for the benefit of others to whom we owe protection and concession—merits happily usual, pure and vigorous enough to redeem the honour of the rational creation.

Illicit pleasure is said to have often a double zest. Thus, the French lady drinking, when thirsty, a glass of very cold and pure water, exclaimed—*What a pity it is not a sin!* But we believe that, in general, whatever is felt to be wrong, is, on that account, however grateful it may be in itself, dashed with pain, and rendered for every person, altogether much less delectable. To such a case the well known maxim of Lucretius is particularly applicable—*Medio de fente leporum, surgit amari aliquid, &c.* Passion frequently impels individuals, and bodies of men, to the commission of transgressions,—to breaches of faith or duty,—that are attended with no gratification, but lead to various and severe evil. Remorse is then doubly grievous—regret is tempered by no real consolation. What is termed the *pleasure* of resentment, of malice, of vengeance, of pride, of hate, indulged and accomplished, is wholly spurious ;—it is corrosion, ferocity or desperation—the excitement of fever or phrensy ; such *pleasure* as Milton concedes to the fallen angels in Pandemonium.

He is in an error who supposes that a headlong impetuosity of spirit, fierce and unbridled passions, are favourable to ingenuousness of character in the true sense. This precious trait can be habitual only with temperate

and retiring natures. Thus dissimulation, perfidy, caprice, deliberate vindictiveness—all directly opposite features—which are charged upon the southern nations of Europe, have a close connexion with the complexional vehemence of their passion. We must confess that we should prefer, with a view to dignity as well as morality, a system of society even repressive of "the more exalted virtues," to one giving unbounded license to the gratification and exhibition of the worst propensities.

EXAMPLES.

The case of Col. Sharpe's murder by Beauchamp, in Frankfort, Kentucky, in the year 1826, is one of the most tragical instances of the misery produced by unbridled passion.

Embracing the whole history of the case, it may be declared one of the most striking and awful combinations of desperate revenge, hardened guilt, and fatal result, which have ever been offered, whether in real life, the drama, or the pages of romance, to the wonder and detestation of mankind. No poet, no novelist, has conceived a story more harrowing, nor framed a lesson more powerful against the indulgence of licentious passion.

The wretched female, it appears, was originally corrupted by the person who was the first sacrifice in the tragedy—a man of elevated rank in the profession of the law and the society of his State: the seducer found a husband for her in Beauchamp, and promised, as the culprits affirmed, a piece of land in consideration of the marriage:—this promise, according to the same testimony, was violated, and an attempt made to deepen the woman's infamy, by charging her with having brought forth a proof of grosser libertinism.—The rancour of disappointment, the thirst of vengeance, exasperated her fierce

spirit, and gave truly demoniac character to her whole scheme of existence. In Beauchamp, she seems to have had a profligate, indiscreet, and congenial auxiliary, stung, himself, by supposed wrong and contumely, and susceptible of being rendered a double slave. He was, if we may judge from his conduct on his trial, and the last scene, narrated by the clergyman, dotingly fond of this evil genius, that became the partner of his bosom only to consummate his ruin and ignominy. She incessantly stimulated him to shed the blood of the object of their common hate—for a long time they mutually cherished and matured the project; until, at length, by means of complicate machination and falsehood, he introduced himself, at dead of night, into the dwelling of the devoted victim, inveigled him from his bed, where he reposed with a tender and respectable wife, and dealt the mortal blow just as that wife approached, ~~in~~ alarm, to ascertain what meant the ominous dialogue which she overheard.

Her frantic shrieks; her sad prostrations on the bleeding corpse; her precipitate flight from the apartment and rapid circuit around the house; the glimpse which she had of the muffled assassin outside; his quick retreat; the infatuation which led to his arrest; the tale which he invented to burden another and innocent person with the crime; the doubts which shadowed all the accusations, for a term; the mystery which extended beyond the event to its causes and agents, and the nature of the evidence adduced in court,—all constitute a body of circumstances equal in rarity and interest to most of the terrific excesses of malignant vice, by the recital of which the human heart has been taught the extremity of its weakness and danger. But the example goes further; the moral is not confined to the butchery of one offender, and the conviction and execution of another. The violent

death of the impenitent woman,—whether against her will, by the reckless fury of the miscreant whom she had goaded so long and steadily to the crime of assassination, or in consequence of an agreement between them to perish thus madly together—completes the horror and admonition of this series of iniquity, wherein the salutary connexion, as ordained by God, between depravation and misery, between crime and punishment, is illustrated in a manner that signalizes both his justice and mercy.

CASE OF CLOUGH ;

WHO STABBED TO DEATH MRS. HAMILTON, AT BORDENTOWN, NEW JERSEY, IN 1833.

Upon a slight examination of Clough's case, it will be seen that his conduct was the very extreme and desperation of *selfishness*. When he lost all hope of getting possession of an attractive and irreproachable woman—of being able to gratify his *own* appetite,—of succeeding in an importunate, discouraged, repelled pursuit,—he literally butchered the amiable object whom he professed to love ;—he savagely immolated her happiness and life, and filled with intense horror and grief her relatives and friends by whom he had been treated with uniform indulgence and benignity. She was made the victim of his inevitable disappointment ;—she fell a sacrifice to his exclusive and revengeful spirit, the basest, the most unmanly that can be conceived.

The circumstance that he believed her to be betrothed and attached to another, only doubles and aggravates his crime in every respect. “If *I* cannot be gratified, *you* shall be destroyed, though you have never authorized me to hope, and the happiness of him whom you prefer, shall be blighted. Your mother's heart shall be wrung with lasting agony, and your offspring consigned to utter orphanage.” *Jealousy* may form some excuse, where

there has been reciprocity or there is deceit ; but no proof of either has been furnished in this case : if the victim did not absolutely drive the persecutor away, it was owing to the gentleness of her nature. She could not be harsh in the requisite degree and timely period.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

THE National Independence and Civil Liberty enjoyed by these States, has been, with great reason, traced higher than to the period when, to speak in the verse of Thomson—

“ Strait to the voted aid
Free, cordial, large, of never-failing source,
Th’ illegal imposition follow’d harsh,
With execration given, or ruthless sought,
From an insulted people, by a band
Of the worst ruffians, those of tyrant power.”

It was not the Stamp Act that produced, although it immediately occasioned, the struggle with the mother-country. It has been well said by Mr. Jefferson, that the “ ball of the Revolution received its first impulse not from the actors in that event, but from the first colonists.” The latter emigrated to this continent not alone from motives connected with religion, but mainly from a love of universal freedom,—from a hatred of the shackles which the feudal system as well as canon law imposed upon the soul. In direct opposition to both, did they mould their constitutions whether of civil or ecclesiastical government.

“ Untam’d
To the refining subtleties of slaves,
They brought an happy government along ;
Form’d by that freedom, which, with secret voice,
Impartial Nature teaches all her sons.”

The mode and spirit of their domestic arrangements, their style of action and strain of language with the rulers of the mother-country, the allodial tenure of land almost universal in the colonies, the rejection of privileged orders, produced a state of things and a temper of mind involving a virtual National Independence which, to be formally declared and inflexibly asserted, required only direct, pertinacious provocation, like that of Lord North's system. As for civil liberty, it was already so perfectly organized, and had been, from the first settlement, so diffusively enjoyed, that the Revolution could add little to this inheritance, except the assurance of its unmolested continuance, and a greater stress on its value arising from the recollection of an arduous struggle for its preservation. Its perpetuity among us, and that of our National Independence, are rendered more natural and certain by the considerations which we have suggested. Both were originally inherent, and must continue to be so, in the constitution of American society.

We are hardly indebted to the Revolution for more than the title and fashion of our *Republican* institutions. The colonists were immemorially republicans in fact and habit. The Republican spirit made part of their nature, as it does of that of their descendants, and of all who are born and reared in these States. It is almost impossible, therefore, for us to conceive the lapse of time or the modification of circumstances, in which monarchy could be tolerated in any of the original members of our confederacy, or in the additional ones planted by them. The complexional disposition and the moral capacity to enjoy and maintain genuine republicanism, are high distinctions and signal blessings;—they are the fruits of a peculiar primitive order of things and train of events; they are, we sincerely believe, peculiar to us among the nations of

the earth; and they imply unrivalled national merits—qualities and ideas in the mass of the population not elsewhere possessed in like manner. They are seconded fully by our physical situation—under the temperate zone, with a climate adapted to the formation of republican habits and properties, and with an extent and face of country, and nature of soil the most favourable to the same fortunate effects. Hence, as we are privileged, we should be jealous of our prerogative—we ought to take pride in the consideration of the extraordinary concurrence of characteristic traits and circumstances required for *real* republicanism: We should be unwilling on the score both of reason and feeling, to admit even the possibility of the existence of a real Republic abroad, whenever it may please a people, however constituted or circumstanced, to invest their scheme of government with that exalted title. Allusion is here meant particularly to the new South American States, to recognize which at once as Republics, is to disparage ourselves: to abdicate a splendid pre-eminence; to overlook or slight the dispensations of Providence in our favour, carried through a long series of years and a great combination of particularities.

What we owe especially to our Revolution is—our present Federal Constitution, the happiest and the best contrived of arrangements for the secure continuance, and full operation of our previous political and social institutions, more auspicious than those of any other country, to the public affections, private virtues, and active talents. The representative system, concerted and digested with so much simplicity and efficacy, is what so entirely and advantageously distinguishes our Republics from those of ancient times, and of the middle ages: But the complete adjustment and incorporation of that system

with the Federate, so as to produce a presiding Republican government, being at once Federal and National, and in each character beneficial to the utmost degree, is the *chef d'œuvre* of political skill; the master-stroke of political fortune, and the highest triumph of national superiority. The strength and excellence of the fabric are illustrated by the fact, that we have had but one case, and that doubtful, of conspiracy against it; and have had not a single instance of capital punishment for treason. If it cannot be said that our actual Federal government is stronger and more durable than any European government, this may be confidently affirmed of our Republican institutions at large. It would require no great effort, or long train of reasoning to show, that there would be more difficulty in destroying them, than any of the monarchical, however guarded by privileged classes and mercenary troops.

The continued separate existence of the colonies in a sovereign capacity, which the European philosophers have represented as an evil, and indeed as a solecism, is one of the finest traits of the new-born political order, and among the most material ingredients in the felicity of our political condition. The Scottish Critics, in particular, might have understood the advantage of the arrangement in general points of view, from the maxims of some of their own political oracles. Ferguson had taught them, that "the distinction of states being clearly maintained, a principle of political life is established in every division; —that each furnishes a theatre for the excitement and display of ability and patriotism, and a safeguard against common political or social degeneracy;—" —that "a cluster of communities, like a company of men, find the exercise of their reason and the test of their virtues, in the affairs they transact upon a footing of equality, and of separated

concern." And how admirable is not the refinement upon this distribution and discussion of interests, and how universally profitable ought not to be the results, when the higher of those interests are committed to the direction of common, select national councils, and have, in a Federal head, a common, all-efficient instrument, through the several modes of legislation, execution and judicature!

If we wanted proof of the dignity and happiness ascribed to our Revolution, and to the governments which emanated so directly and naturally from the situation and genius of the people, it could be found in the contrast which is presented by the furious and wasting, intestine struggles in South America. That our revolt and separation from the mother country left no spirit of infidelity or insubordination; that we remained after ten years of strife, disarrangement, turmoil and military effort, a religious, orderly, united people, setting all value upon civil pursuits and regular government, is not the less honourable because it is easily explicable, and not the less splendidly anomalous in the history of mankind, because it might have been expected and predicted. To say nothing of the incalculable good which our republican and federal system effected; of the great prosperity of which they were the sources; the advantage which they gave us in the comparison with the mother country; from the period of the first to the end of the second war with her,—if we compare our actual condition and prospects with hers, we shall see abundant motive for exultation; new reasons for rejoicing in our deliverance and our republican scheme of polity.

It is not necessary to enter into details on this head. Insupportable taxation; popular insurrections; suspension of constitutional securities for freedom; an endless picture of ghastly wretchedness and ferocious crime:

immense military establishments; boundless expense and corruption; expiring liberty; impending, or generally apprehended revolution, in its most hideous and destructive form;—these are circumstances abundantly notorious, and eloquent in our favour. We labour under much general distress, it is true; but our misery is still, except perhaps in a very few individual instances, widely different from British, or European misery; it is not inevitable famine and the fiercest vice and foulest turpitude combined. The adversity which we suffer is the effect of prodigality of health; of a kind of youthful extravagance; of strong temptations to excess, not likely to recur: it carries “a jewel in its crown,” for it will bring us back to the simplicity of tastes and pursuits, to the moderation of views, and course of regular industry, which alone give solid happiness, and assure the permanence of Republican freedom. We are gaining by the pressure under which we so much complain: our sharp experience will prove both remedial and preventive.—Britain, on the contrary, is only driven by her sufferings and embarrassments, nearer to the gulf of anarchy or despotism. We have still a sound faith; sound institutions; an undiminished predilection, and reverence for them; an inexhaustible magazine of food, and ample scope for manly, virtuous occupation, in our vast and prolific territorial surface; licentiousness and crime have indeed increased among us, but it is in a proportion far behind the European, and they cannot fail to be checked by the reinstatement of our affairs on their proper basis, and in their natural order.

The boasts and taunts of Britain respecting proficiency in the arts and sciences, are as unreasonable as they are idle and ungenerous. We have made, in fact, much progress in them; enough at least to exempt us from all fair reproach, and perhaps, to satisfy any enlightened patriot,

and attentive observer of the true elements and proper march of the prosperity of nations. "The literary, as well as the mechanical arts, being a natural produce of the human mind, will rise spontaneously wherever men are happily placed. The love of learning and of arts may change its pursuits, or droop for a season; but while men are possessed of freedom, and while the exercises of ingenuity are not superseded, the public may proceed, at different times, with unequal fervour; but its progress is seldom altogether discontinued, or the advantages gained in one age, are seldom entirely lost to the following." These are the sound doctrines of an eminent Scottish writer, and will be exemplified in American history.

But, after all, there are higher accomplishments as well of national as of individual character, than the mere attainments of speculation; than the faculty of making books, pictures or statues, or fine cutlery or clothing: there are things more to be envied in the circumstances of a people than such possessions; those, our revilers themselves can readily discern in examining the physical and moral map of our country. One of the first of British orators (Mr. Canning) has said—"the diffusion of knowledge among the poorer classes is the greatest of all blessings in a state; because the true glory and the permanent safety of a state depend upon the morals of its inhabitants, and those morals on instruction." But in no nation is instruction so general, and so accessible to the lowest of the indigent, as in the American. Here is more, then, than a compensation for the absence of splendid universities and gigantic manufactories, and great poets, and skilful statuaries. All these will arise among us in good time; in their proper season; we have made the true beginning, and have pursued and accomplished the chief good. Nations,

like private men, have their favourite ends; let ours be "true glory and permanent safety,"—in the cultivation of the understanding and morals of the people at large. Some governments proceed to power, dominion, renown, upon the maxims of military violence; of diplomatic cunning; or of commercial monopoly—let ours advance to the same goal upon higher and surer principles—the protection of the rights of man; the prosperity of all classes of society; the rules of distributive justice; the universal encouragement of honest industry; the disenthralment and improvement of reason; the arts of conciliation and persuasion.

General motives for rejoicing at the Independence and Union of these States, and the republican character of their institutions, on the comparison with the condition of affairs abroad, have never been wanting since the recognition, we might even say, since the declaration of that sovereignty, for which they so long and so arduously struggled. When the first and heaviest pressure of their new situation was felt—when their enemies exulted and some of the most patriotic of their own citizens grew doubtful and despondent, in contemplating the scenes which immediately followed the change—still, in the circumstances of Europe at large, enough was visible to console them for what they momentarily suffered, and to teach them complacency and confidence in their separate fortune.

At the period of the awful political convulsion in France, which made the continent quiver to its extremities, and involved it in every species of discord, strife, crime and havoc; which propelled all the passions to excess, and inflicted the penalty by a deluge of calamities—more abundant and palpable cause could be found for the feelings we have just mentioned: and still more reason for them

appeared, in proportion as the anarchy of the European world subsided, and an organized imperial despotism arose, aiming at universal dominion, and drenching it anew with blood. While the contest prevailed between the innovating, anarchical spirit, and the cause of social order and regular government, the expectation could be cherished that temperate freedom would be the forced result. We were happy in our exemption from "the throes and spasms"—and in our extrication from those abuses of government which either caused or aggravated the epidemic fury; yet we might believe that the nations would, in the end, be indemnified, and run a career of higher and more durable prosperity. But in the resistance made to the imperial military despotism, especially after the continent was subdued, and all effort in favour of national independence confined to Great Britain, no prospect of good offered itself except the mere rescue of Europe from a common political servitude—the mere prevention of universal monarchy in one head, not the general recognition and establishment of free institutions. Then could these United States congratulate themselves doubly on their disengagement from European rule; on their inaccessibility to the arm of European despotism however gigantic; on their escape from that partnership, which the colonial condition must have produced, in the sanguinary and expensive efforts and various dangers of the mother country, whether as regarded rabid French democracy or omnivorous French imperality.

While the endeavour after liberty and natural rights, seemed to be the cause, and the acquisition of them might be anticipated as the issue, of the devastating storm in Europe, these states could feel and boast that they already possessed secure, what was sought there at so dreadful a cost. While in the subsequent mighty war,

the stake was, whether any vestige of civil freedom should remain there, whether any national sovereignty except in one power, they had the satisfaction to know that they enjoyed both, and could at no time be deprived of either, if they were but true to themselves.

During the greater part of the season of European turmoil, their independence enabled them to reap the richest harvests of peace, and their republican institutions gave them all the benefits of unshackled, fervent, and uninterrupted industry. The town enlarged ; the country smiled ; the citizen felt all the dignity and value of his nature ; the whole Republic flourished, increased in population with unexampled rapidity, and spread over an immense space. Never had the philanthropist so much reason to rejoice in the multiplication of the species in any region ; he saw, for the new generations, the certainty of an easy subsistence united to lettered knowledge and all the best advantages of civilization : he could calculate that all the race would be endued with the love of political liberty in its simplest and most salutary forms, and understand the main principles of free government. Not only was the most diffusive, substantial prosperity seen and felt, but there was added the satisfaction of finding the country chosen as the calm retreat of the distressed and the sanguine of Europe ; sought as "the better home" of those whom tyranny, misfortune, or a preference for the natural order of society, impelled to emigrate from other lands. Such were the most prominent traits of our condition.

"Trade, joined to these, on every sea displayed
A daring canvass ; poured with every tide
A golden flood."

The United States were affected in their prosperity and comfort by the general peace of Europe, but in a much

less degree than the countries of that quarter of the globe. They had given into inordinate schemes of speculation; one branch of their public economy had been extended artificially beyond all bounds; they had cherished extravagant hopes; the change in European affairs, in restoring the natural limits of things, caused every excess to be felt, and thus induced much distress and disappointment, and an undue depression and distrust—the opposite extremes. Yet, whatever the real deterioration of condition and the extent of private embarrassments, no comparison could be drawn between their situation and that, for instance, of Great Britain. Exhausted by the incalculable cost of her long warfare, bending under her enormous load of debt, overrun with paupers and criminals, shaken by desperate factions, threatened with popular misrule and national bankruptcy, labouring under inveterate domestic ills of fatal portent and perhaps incurable nature, she presented altogether a scene for which there was no parallel on this side of the Atlantic, and which was fitted to revive every sentiment of joy at any time entertained among us, at our severance from her empire and destinies.

The solace which the enemies of American Independence and the Republican polity, found, on the establishment of both, was the consideration that the latter was in its nature quickly perishable—it wanted, according to them, the principles of stability inherent in the monarchical system, and they confidently predicted, therefore, its early dissolution in America. History, to be sure, did not justify this opinion, by its records of the cabals, conspiracies, dethronements, massacres, rebellions, and almost unremitting alarms and tumults, that had agitated and afflicted all the monarchical countries. But the prejudice was common; it prevailed largely even in the United

States; and not a few American, as well as the great plurality of European politicians, would have rejected as visionary, the presage that the American democracies would outlive, in substance, the monarchies of France, Spain, Portugal and Naples.

Recent experience has solved the problem. While the American was free even from the shadow of uneasiness, and reposed in perfect security, in regard to the safety and permanence of the republican institutions under which he prospered, thrones crumbled in Europe; every monarchical cabinet trembled for its existence; the government of Great Britain herself was filled with terror, and may be said to have been preserved chiefly through the republican genius of her constitution. It was not saved by the array of military force to which her ministry was compelled to resort, but by attachments and interests connected with her share of constitutional freedom.

As for the monarchies of the continent, their weakness is seen to be *internal*; to consist in the disorders, corruptions, misery and disaffection which necessarily grow out of that scheme of polity. They are manifestly supported by a force that is extrinsic to the real state and nation; they may continue to subsist for some time, by mutual aid and the coercive machinery of despotism; but it belongs to the economy of Providence that what is artificial and forced, in the order of society, shall disappear when men are so far enlightened as to distinguish what is consonant to their nature and of course most conducive to their welfare. The trepidation of such a government as that of Austria, thought to be the most solid and secure of the continental monarchies, at the example of a representative assembly in Naples, furnishes memorable and conclusive evidence of the intrinsic, conscious debility of

the royal rule, when compared with the popular, elective magistracy.

The blessings of which so large a portion of the European population are deprived, and at which the rest grasp with an uncertain hold, we *possess*, in a degree unattainable for them, by any efforts or sacrifices; the unhallowed and *colossal* force which is organized to prevent its attainment at all, we may mock, secure in our disjunction from Europe; in our distance; in our spirit, and in our full sense of the superiority of our lot.

It is well that the anniversary should be considered as a universal holiday, and it would be the true celebration that all, in taking part in its festivities, should look only to its mementoes and promises, and discard every calculation and feeling, except those which might be deemed really patriotic and fraternal.

There is but one subject of regret with reference to the occasion; and that is, the party principles and sentiments upon which it is often treated. This evil has been much censured and lamented. With regard to fundamental, constitutional maxims and forms, and general external policy, no diversity of opinion any longer exists among American citizens; and the day of the foundation of our Republic and the confirmation of our Union would seem to refer to them alone; to be that solemn epoch when, if we must appear with a hostile front at all, we should be, unanimously and solely, in simple array against the foreign theories and details of government and administration inimical to our system.

Whatever tends to break the unity or lessen the force of that array, to create or exasperate intestine animosities, which make us forget or undervalue comparatively the paramount genius and excellence of our institutions, and to foster the spirit and promote the designs of individual

selfishness, is manifestly at variance with the proper associations and uses of the Fourth of July. Mr. Burke complains, somewhere in his tracts, of the introduction of politics into the pulpit on the Sabbath; insisting that the Lord's day should be a period of civic truce, sacred to the lessons of peace and good will among men; especially while the turmoil of political ambition and strife is so incessant and violent throughout the rest of the week. Thus, we should say—let the Anniversary of the National Independence be a season,—brief enough indeed,—of truce and amnesty between domestic parties;—let that one day of the year be set apart for common sympathies and congratulations in respect to the unrivalled prosperity and honour which it has induced, and to the eminently advantageous contrast of our general national situation with that of any other people ancient or modern.

Salutary examples, furnishing a severe reproof, could be cited from both ancient and modern history. The Greeks and Romans laid aside their domestic antipathies and disputes to commemorate at annual festivals common national advantages and glories—signal and prolific triumphs in their annals; peculiar and cherished elements in their constitutions; the special origin of their states and the exclusive favour of their gods. Germany of the present day is distinguished by similar commemorations, that kindle an empyreal flame in the heart and fill the memory with recollections, which elevate and purify, and beget a temporary oblivion of all their differences of political and social condition, and variety of allegiance and doctrine. Certain of the events and reforms, the vicissitudes and *fastes*, which belong to the *Revolution*, are now, in France, periodically celebrated with a common acclaim, notwithstanding the return and temper of the old dynasty and noblesse, and although the

colour of the deep horrors and feuds of that era has by no means faded on the imagination of the French of any class or party. In England, the anniversary of the revolution of 1688 rallies both Whigs and Tories of the modern school.—*Rule Britannia*, wherever sung, unites the voices and feelings of all Britons, whether of the Administration or Opposition at other times.—Our anniversary and our *Hail Columbia* should work similar effects: if we are not absorbed by the emotions suitable to them—if we can connect with them the language of mutual reproach, and defiance, and the denunciation of contest and calamity—we must appear to have degenerated in point of sensibility and wisdom.

These remarks have been made with a faint hope that, however insufficient to avert the abuse to which they refer, they may, possibly, with some readers, temper the harshness of the dispositions and purposes out of which it has arisen. We have heard the suggestion that the example having been set by one party, the other was obliged to follow it in order to counteract its design. The obligation to commit positive wrong is not, we think, to be acknowledged under any circumstances. The expediency even of adopting a bad precedent may be doubted in whatever conjuncture. There is, in fact, no sounder policy than that of universal scrupulosity and rectitude; the party that should repudiate entirely the *conventional immorality* of parties would be the most likely to triumph in the end; and those who hold and proclaim themselves to be the best or only sound division of politicians, should be particularly earnest and proud to follow the best or only patriotic course. This theory, of frustrating the intended operation of an abuse by practising the same improper device, has been, in all ages, a fruitful source of mischief and corruption; it leads to the endless propaga-

tion and multiplication of evil. The United States felt it abundantly as it was exercised in inter-national concerns, between France and Great Britain, during their last war: —in party-struggles in those countries and here, it produces reciprocal violence, libels, scurrilities, tricks, and all the various sorts of depravity forming the tactics of political warfare.

It is well to recall on this Anniversary, the reasons of the separation from Great Britain ; to dwell anew upon the fundamental and republican maxims by which the luminaries and chiefs of the era—called *ringleaders* on one side—were prompted and guided ; to mark the perspicuity and completeness of their expositions, the moderation yet firmness of their tone, the exactitude with which they apprehended, and the calm intrepidity with which they urged the most liberal theory of the British constitution, and how fully and anxiously they justified every step which was taken in the career of resistance to menacing doctrines and despotic acts. Their principles, their remonstrances, their gradation, their choice of topics and agents, their mode of concluding as well as conducting the emancipation of a people, form the most instructive and impressive of lessons for the civilized world, and reflect more honour upon human nature, than any other comprehensive example in political annals. Every time that an American citizen adverts to the motives and preparation for the Revolution, and to the virtue and patriotism by means of which it was achieved, he must be more sensible of the obligation under which he lies to foster the same qualities, as the only or best preservatives of the dignity and prosperity which it has conferred.

No other nation has existed so deeply and manifestly responsible as ours, in relation to both the past and the future :—we have within ourselves the code of righteous

government, the models of public probity and wisdom, the fountains of moral and physical good, the materials of immense power;—we can extensively influence, if not absolutely determine the destinies of a large portion of mankind. These points will, we trust, be remembered always. We hope that more attention will be paid to the recollections and sympathies and interests by which we should be cordially united, than to the comparatively insignificant party-concerns of the day, that estrange our hearts and warp our republicanism; to the merits of the worthies of our Golden Age, than to the glorification or abasement of temporary idols, and the advancement of personal fortunes.

TREATMENT OF THE SEX.

THE question is discussed in some of the western papers whether females "should meddle with politics." Ladies who go into the society of the other sex ought, doubtless, to have some acquaintance with the topics which most interest the latter and form the public business of the times. But every friend would dissuade them from ever becoming political partisans; or vehemently preferring any political opinions. In all party controversies there is an infusion of bitterness, a fierceness of zeal, of which they can never partake consistently with the proper delicacy and gentleness of their nature. General information and sound thinking always become them; and not less, habitual temperance of spirit and manner, and a liberal and benevolent estimate of the motives and sentiments of others. The Duchesses of Gordon and Devonshire, who took sides, and acted conspicuous parts, in the

competition between the Pitt and Fox parties, lost by it, even with those for whom they acted, much of the influence of their beauty and rank:—all recoiled from the Venus and the Juno, degrading their divinity by kissing, bribing or haranguing voters.

It was intended or proposed to establish a public reading room for *ladies* at Boston. We do* not like this *notion*. Most of those who would frequent the room, could be supplied at *home* with as large a number of the journals and books to be thus collected as they might require: and *home*, for the ladies, is the preferable place for any object of improvement which can be conveniently pursued there. The other sex may complain of any institution which tends to render their “better halves,” or their tendril daughters, more satisfied with separate converse or assemblage. For our own parts, if we lived in Boston, we should not wish to be reminded of the pictures of the female deliberative scientific clubs, which we have seen in some of the old English Magazines.

In works of imagination generally, the female writers of England greatly excel, in our opinion, the literary sisterhood of France. We have been often led to reflect upon this circumstance with some surprise, as French women certainly display much more fancy in conversation, and enjoy, by their preponderance in society, and their habits of social intercourse, very important advantages for the culture of all the faculties of the mind.

It was lately made a question in England whether females be a part of the *public*, in consequence of a worthy clerical magistrate having formally decided that “women have no business in the court house, they not making part of *the public*.” The gainsayers of this doctrine, which is so nearly allied to the eastern notion that women lack *souls*—point to the various associations of females for almost

every possible *public* purpose. Virgil's phrase, *dux *femina* facti*, they aver, can be applied at present, to every enterprise of real or mistaken charity.

A "Society for the relief of aged indigent females."—This of all charitable objects, is the one which makes the most powerful and perhaps just appeal to the human heart. The regard and veneration due to the sex, the memory of maternal tenderness experienced by us all, the gratitude due for conjugal happiness in a proper union, the extent of the wretchedness produced by destitution in the old age of women, plead with unequalled force to the hearts and the understandings of persons possessed of the means of relieving that wretchedness.

There is no form of human distress more entitled to sympathy and relief, than the destitution which it seeks to temper and supply. The debt of filial obligation is common to society; it can never be repaid in an individual instances, but it may be more largely discharged by extending its retribution throughout the respectable portion of the sex by whom aid is wanted. All that the memory of the most tender benefits, and of the purest and most precious endearments; all that natural helplessness, allotted dependence, and acute sensibility can claim from charity and christian duty and fellowship, is found urgent in this case. The manifold misery of it will not be thought exaggerated in the following passage of the Report of a New York Committee on the subject:

"It need scarcely be observed, that poverty is always dreaded as the common enemy of human happiness, but in the afflicted objects of our attention;—*respectable, aged, indigent females*"—the mind and the body both suffer together. The lonely condition of having outlived their funds and their strength—the cheerless habitation—the care-worn visage—the sunken constitution—must force many a bitter tear down the furrowed cheek, at the remembrance of better

days—long gone by, when the Almighty, was yet with them and their children, and companions were about them, ‘*and when he blessed them in their basket and in their store.*’ ”

At our public feasts, in our theatres, in our books, in our social and domestic converse, we constantly deal in professions of general homage and devotion to the female world—we are lavish of fond and generous sentiment:—but the test of our sincerity, and real refinement of heart and manners, is an active disposition, a practical readiness, to assist the object when indeed helpless—when thrown on the community, for food, raiment, and humble virtuous refuge. He that, contemplating his mother, wife, sister or daughter, exclaims with the poet—

“ Honour, peace, and safety, always hover round her,
Feed her with plenty, let her eyes ne’er see
A sight of sorrow, nor her heart know mourning,
Crown’d be her days with joy”—

He should extend the feeling by which he is prompted, to the whole kindred sex; mindful of the vicissitudes of fortune, of the fate which may await her whose happiness he covets, of the efforts which he would wish to be made by others in her behalf, in case of her becoming indigent or derelict from what cause or at what age soever.

No true gentleman can ever indulge *resentment* against a female. All *vindictive* feelings or proceedings towards the weaker sex are unworthy and unpardonable. The utmost that is allowable, when wrong is experienced from them, is the simple exposition of *truth*—accompanied by regret, and entire resignation, or generous forbearance as far as possible consistently with strict self-defence. Sarcasm, obloquy, mere annoyance or revenge of any kind, are repugnant to manly character and chivalrous spirit.

FEMALE INTELLECT.

THE biography of the female sex has been treated from the earliest period of modern civilization, almost as amply as the other. Dictionaries have been devoted specially to the commemoration of the virtues and demerits of the ladies ; they occupy much space in all the great biographical compilations ; and the separate lives, sketches, notices, and eulogies, of which they are the subjects, may be pronounced innumerable. They cannot complain of neglect, on the part of either poets or prose writers, philosophers, or legendaries. They almost crowd the martyrologies—much to the dishonour of *mankind*, in one respect—and modern piety has canonized a multitude, shining like galaxies among the saints. The ancients, though liberal in exalting and spreading them in the invisible or mythological world, invested them with less importance in real life, or yielded them less attention when they treated of human characters and affairs, than the Christian generations have done. As they are indebted to Christianity for superior usage and estimation in domestic and social relations, they owe it also far greater prominence and diffusion in public annals, and the ability which they have freely employed, of commemorating their own deeds and merits.

The attempts of female writers, by which the end of the last century was marked, to assert the mental equality of the sexes, if not the superiority of the softer, were far from being new or original. Mary Wollstonecraft was scarcely more than a plagiary, with all her pretensions : —the example and the doctrine which she followed had been provided centuries before, in a more elegant form and erudite strain ; and by women who, from their con-

sciousness of intellectual power, and the depth of their recondite studies, were entitled, in a higher degree, to dispute the palm, or contend against the prejudice of inferiority. We shall proceed to cite a few instances, which may not be known to the major part of even our female readers, and which, as we have touched this topic, may be an acceptable offering, therefore, to laudable curiosity and pride. So early as the year 1675, the Abbé Gallois stated, in the Paris *Journal des Savants*, that one virtuoso of his acquaintance, had collected *four hundred several works* which the republic of letters owed to learned females; and Ménage's *Historia Mulierum Philosophorum*, dedicated to Madame Dacier—whom he styled *Feminarum, quot sunt, quot fuere, doctissima*—afforded another body of cogent examples for the argument in behalf of the female mind. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Modesto Pozzo, a Venetian lady and ripe scholar, gave to the world an able treatise on the merits of women, *de Merita delle Donne*, in which she asserted the equality of the sex. Another, of the same city, Marinelli, more celebrated, published, in 1601, a book, with the title *Nobility and Excellence of Women, with the defects and faults of Men; La Nobilita e l'Excellenza delle Donne, con difetti et mancamenti de gli Huomini*. Her object was to demonstrate the superiority of her own sex, in every intellectual and moral respect; which the erudite damsel of Cologne, Anna Maria Schurman, (1641,) reprehended as an exorbitant pretension, though she printed herself a Latin dissertation on the side of equality—*Dissertatio de Ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores literas aptitudine*. Marinelli's theory became, however, popular with most of the Blues of her age and the succeeding century. One of her French disciples issued at Paris, in 1644, an octavo called “The Generous

or Courageous Woman, manifesting that her sex is more noble, deeply political, learned, virtuous, and economical, than the male." Another, *La demoiselle Jaquette Guillaume*, produced, in 1665, a larger work of a similar purport—*Les Dames Illustres*, où, par bonnes et fortes raisons, il se prouve que le sexe feminin surpassé *en toute sorte de genres* le sexe masculin. The spinster *de Gourney*, Montaigne's adopted daughter, whom the amusing philosopher signalizes, on account of her zeal for the rights and wrongs of women, restricted herself in her ingenious Discourse, to the question of the equality of the sexes.

Italy contained a number of females, who, after gaining distinction as authors or professors, in the sciences and ancient languages, exerted their attainments and faculties to fortify the unqualified claim of the Venetian literary Amazon. They ransacked pagan history for the cases of female ascendancy and prowess, in government, in arms, in arts, in morals, in the practical virtues, and the useful qualities ; and explained with the most industrious subtilty and zeal how it happened, through the operations of brute force and blind chance, that the more spiritual and ethereal of the genders had fallen under the dominion and in the wake of the other. They threw back caustic contempt on the Greek and Roman satirists, who made the female nature and career in general, responsible for prodigies of folly and dissoluteness, which were immediately created or occasioned by the extreme degeneracy and monstrous turpitude of the usurpers, self-cyled lords of the creation. Old Eubulus, Euripides, and Juvenal, were understood in the original, and scorned ; just as, in later times, the ladies of France revenged themselves on Boileau, and those of England might have retorted, by accounting for the spleen of Pope. We do not concur with Warbur-

ton in his remark, "that the men bear a general satire most heroically; the women, with the utmost impatience;" and we deem the reason assigned still more questionable and derogatory than the allegation itself—"the women fear that such representations may hurt the sex in the opinion of the men; whereas the men are not at all apprehensive that their follies or vices would prejudice them in the opinion of the women." But the sentiment of Warburton recurred to our memory with some force, as we looked into the pages wherein the Italian female champions have expressed the indignation and resentment due to the classic libellers, and when we thought of the feeling and language, with which they would have treated such compositions as the Epistles of Pope, from which, according to Warburton, the great moral is, that the two rarest things in all nature, are a disinterested man and a *reasonable woman*.

It seems to us that the ladies of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the first quarter or half of the eighteenth centuries, had more plausible and immediate reasons for their jealousy of intellectual reputation, than exist for those of the present times. Science and erudition were less general among the men, particularly in the two first periods; and eminence in classical and abstruse knowledge was more common and brilliant with the other sex, than it is in our age, notwithstanding the frequent introduction of Latin studies into the prevailing system of female education. Female acquirements and authorship are now generally confined to the vernacular languages; to works of fiction, elementary treatises, and compositions for the improvement of ordinary life, social and domestic. But, in England, for example; during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, it was the *-fashion* to give a learned education to women. We are told by the annalists, and know from

the biographical records, that the study of the higher sciences and ancient tongues, was the occupation of the most "gorgeous dames" and beauteous damsels of the court. The subjoined extract from an interesting book entitled "Lady Jane Grey and her Times," will show the state of the case at a still earlier period.

"In an elegy, written after the death of Lady Jane Grey by Sir Thomas Chaloner, she is commended not only for her beauty, but also for that which was a greater charm, her intelligent and interesting style of conversation. He speaks too of her stupendous skill in languages, being well versed in eight, consisting of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides that of her native land, in which she was well grounded.

"He further observes that she had a natural wit, and that much improved by art and study. She playcd well on instrumental music. She wrote an excellent hand; and she was as excellent at her needle.

"Notwithstanding all these endowments, Chaloner affirms, that she was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit, and never showed an elated mind until she manifested it at her death.

"To boarding-school misses of the present day it may seem strange, that young ladies in those times should have troubled themselves with so many tongues, but the fact is not the less certain; as we are told by Udal, in his dedication to Queen Katherine Parr, of the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the four Gospels; that a 'great number of noble women' at that time in England were given to the study of human sciences and of strange' tongucs.' In short, he says, that 'it is no uncommon thyng to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters, that they willyngly set all other vain pastymes at nought for learnyng's sake. It was no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progonie, instede of courtely daliaunce to embrace virtuous exercises, readyng and writyng, and with most earnest studie both erlyc and late, to apply themselves to the acquiryng of knowledge as well as all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most specially of God, and his most holy writ. And in this behalfe, like as to your highnesse, as well for composyng and settynge forth many godly psalms and diverse other contemplative meditations, as also for causing these paraphrases to be translated into our vulgare language. England can never be able to render

thanks sufficient.' Not only did languages form a great part of female education, but philosophy also; such as it was at that day, bursting from the trammels of the schools and of superstitious ignorance."

On the continent, the *fashion* was as positive and broad as in England, and dignified by a proportional number of shining examples. We shall cull a few of these for edification and entertainment, without observing a strict chronological order or any rule of gradation. We may begin with the *Duchess of Retz*, who died at Paris in 1603, and of whom, and the Italian *Savante* Catherine Cibo, Rapin said—

“ On les voyoit sur un tome
Ou de saint Jean Chrysostome
Ou bien de saint Augustin,
Passant et soir et matin,
Dessus la sainte Ecriture,
En prière ou en lecture.
Puis extraire de Platon,
De Plutarque et de Caton,
De Tullo et des deux Séneques
Les fleurs Latines et Grecques,
Mélant d'un soin curieux
Le plaisant au sérieux.
De-là leur esprit agile
S'égayoit dans le Virgile,
Dont la pure netteté
Ne sent que la chasteté.”

We cannot furnish a suitable translation of the rhymes, but may quote in English the statements of the biographers that the Dutchess, though so deeply and variously erudite, gave birth to ten children; lost nothing of her exquisite beauty; managed the highest diplomatic concerns; gained victories in the field at the head of her husband's vassals; built castles and churches; founded monasteries, and enjoyed perfect health of mind and body.

until her sixtieth year. The lady *Cornara Piscopia*, of Venice, (A. D. 1646,) a doctrine of the University of Padua, earned her cap, (*bonnet*,) and her splendid public admission, by prodigious acquirements, as the rival of the first Greek, Latin, and Hebrew philologers, and a theologian of the transcendental class. She knew seven languages; was thoroughly versed in mathematics and music; trod the paths and practised the austerities of a saintly virgin, and died at the age of thirty-eight, the admiration of her contemporaries.

We need not cite in addition, the names of Madame Dacier—Madeleine de Scudery—Madame de Sevigné—Lady Russel—Ladies Ann, Margaret, and Jane Scymour—Elizabeth Jane Weston—Margaret Roper—Lady Dorothy Packington—Margaret Cavendish—Catherine Macauley Graham—Mrs. Elizabeth Carter—Madame de Maintenon—Madame Roland—Baroness de Staël—Madame Necker de Saussure—Madame de Genlis—Madame Guizot; the number of real “Femmes savantes et Classiques,” possessed by Germany and Italy; the host of unequalled British authoresses in the departments of prose Fiction, Poetry and the Drama, Memoirs, Social Ethics and Education—the Marcets—Hershels and Somervilles in science—and the elect of the United States in tale and verse.

Talents form a productive blessing for a female, if they are cultivated and applied conformably to her plain, natural destination: simple domestic life is a safe, and not a very narrow sphere, of duty and pleasure. When the actual condition of the sexes in civilized society is sedately and broadly examined, the lot of each is seen to have its inconveniences and its advantages; and, perhaps, superiority cannot be asserted for either, on the whole.

With regard to relative mental powers, wild speculation and superfluous ingenuity have been lavished on

both sides of the question. In endowing each, Providence has distinguished the share and quality, and separated the uses, in his general economy. We would refer to Hannah More's "Comparative View of the Sexes," for a rational and discriminative discussion of this topic. In adducing cases of female scholarship, we have shown that females are at least capable of becoming learned in the ultimate degree, but we have not meant to recommend a classical education to our countrywomen. The German professor, *Meiners*, well observes, that in the sixteenth, and first half of the seventeenth centuries, the modern languages were unpolished, and had produced very few masterpieces; and therefore, the women of genius, who were desirous of cultivating their understandings and their hearts, were obliged to learn the ancient languages, in whose works alone they could find the treasures of useful and ornamental knowledge. This necessity has disappeared; the literature of each of the modern tongues is sufficiently refined and comprehensive. Our state of society, and the offices of an American wife and mother, are, moreover, such, that the time requisite for the proper acquisition of the Greek and Latin, cannot be afforded, and the application, or general usefulness of this knowledge, would be much more limited than it is in Europe.

FEMALE SOVEREIGNS.

THE lords of the creation who, whether as historians, biographers, or moralists, have treated of lady sovereigns independent in their rule, have been sadly wanting, for the most part, in the temper and tone of refined and reasonable chivalry:—their judgments are too often

harsh ; their invectives immoderate ; and their interpretations cynical. How excessive and discourteous the severity with which the Marys and Elizabeths of England, the Queen of Scots, the de Medicis of France, Christina of Sweden, have been tried and condemned in the pages of the party writers and disputants, political and religious ; and when they have been defended and extolled, it seems to have proceeded rather from polemical zeal than the fairness of mild truth and just allowance, and a suitable generosity of heart and delicacy of sentiment. This criticism might be extended to the treatment of the ancient queens, particularly by the historians and the authors of the great dictionaries, from the tenth to the eighteenth century.

The loftiest of historians and of poets have dwelt upon the features, the skin, the eyes, the attire of the most formidable of the royal heroines ancient and modern. They have traced the beauty and costume of *Semiramis*, who lived two thousand years before Christ—if she ever lived at all—and have endowed her with graces as manifold as her diction is mellifluent in the opera of Metastasio, wherein she appears to so much moral and musical advantage. For our parts, we must confess that when we think of the deeds and propensities which are ascribed to that Amazonian, male-spirited dame, we cannot image her other than a Bellona, with the bloody scourge of that dire goddess, or a Medusa, after the latter had undergone her dreadful metamorphosis, though, independently of the radiant delineations to which we have adverted, she is accredited as born of a fountain nymph, nursed by *doves*, and worshipped after death by the Assyrians, under the form of a cooing turtle. *Zenobia*, who, on foot, led armies to battle and victory, and drank glass for glass with her generals and stranger-guests the most renowned for po-

tations, has also been glowingly depicted in every lineament and habiliment. Subellius Pollio gives her a dark brown complexion, eyes exceedingly black and divinely bright, and teeth so white that many people believed them to be a set of pearls. From that historian down to Gibbon, notice has been always taken of the quantity and quality of the jewels with which she was laden when led in triumph by Aurelian; of the golden fetters fastened to her feet, and the collar and chains of the same metal that encircled her neck and arms. It would be superfluous to specify the manner in which the pencils of the historians and poets have been employed upon the exquisite loveliness, incomparable *tournure* and perfect living taste of Cleopatra, whom Plutarch alone denies to have been so extraordinarily handsome, while he admits that she was irresistible by the witchcraft of her conversation. Neither the person nor the drapery of the British heroine, the martial and magnanimous *Boadicea*, have been overlooked:—she, whom Glover, in his tragedy, has, with so little judgment and patriotism, converted into the worst of the furies incarnate, and into whose mouth Tacitus and Dio Nicæus have put speeches more worthy of her cause and end. The latter historian describes her as a woman of lofty stature and rather austere countenance; with yellow hair, reaching almost to the ground, a plaited tunic of various colours, a chain of gold around her waist, and over all a long mantle.

CATHARINE OF RUSSIA.—Though Catharine is the subject of many printed volumes, there is comparatively but little extant concerning her, of that kind of direct and adequate testimony upon which implicit reliance may be placed. Tooke's "Life," &c.—much of which is a mere translation from Castera's, and which has been widely current—contains, no doubt, many authentic details and accurate

views, yet, such of his statements as relate to her private deportment and character, and the chronicles of her court, cannot inspire the absolute faith due to those of M. de Ségur in his Memoirs, who passed five years in the centre, we may say, of that court, and in the closest inspection of her policy and demeanour. We are inclined to deem him the safest witness, besides being by far the best informed, for, without losing the urbanity proper to one of his nation and sphere, or forgetting the indulgence owing to her sex, he has not abstained from free strictures on her ambitious schemes and shameless amours.

Of all the shining females who have sustained with glory the weight of empire, whether in ancient or modern Europe, Catharine perhaps, is the most remarkable and eminent. M. de Ségur, portrays her as noble in mien and carriage, her gaiety never degenerating into indecorum, nor her gravity into moroseness ; of middle stature, high forehead, aquiline nose, blue eyes, and black eye-brows ; with a mild and winning smile generally, and a fair and dazzling complexion, that survived her other personal attractions. As she advanced in age her *embonpoint* grew to a corpulency, to disguise which, in its awkwardness of effect, she wore, adds that author, an ample robe with wide sleeves—*une robe ample avec de larges manches, habilement presque semblable à l'ancier habit Moscovite*. Let not the reader start or scoff at these minutiae.

Ségur arrived, for the first time, at St. Petersburgh, in quality of ambassador, in the year 1785. He was eager to be immediately presented to the Czarina, with whose fame he had been violently smitten. She caused him to be informed that she would receive him the day after : yet ten days elapsed before she could see him ; and the delay arose, according to authentic information, from

the poignant grief which she suffered for the sudden death of a lover, *de Lanskoy*, who had contrived to persuade her, in spite of the great disparity of their ages, that he was passionately enamoured not of the *empress* but of Catharine. One queen, Artemisia, of the olden race, erected, to a deceased husband, a stupendous cenotaph, that has given his name to grand funeral monuments, in most of the cultivated languages. Another, Artemisia of Caria, the intrepid ally of Xerxes, perished by the lover's leap, at the promontory Leucas, driven to despair, by the indifference of a native of Abydos. Catharine built in the gardens of her palace Czarskozelo, a superb mausoleum to the memory of *Lanskoy*; and, in the first agonies of sorrow for his loss, would have taken the Leucadian leap, if this had been the fashion of disconsolate mistresses in her time. For three days after his dissolution, she refused all sustenance, and for more weeks, remained in mournful seclusion.

Several of her favourites were men of both military and civil talents, able and alert to assist in the execution of vast plans of ambition and policy. It does not appear that they did more than subserve her conceptions and aims, by which the Russian power was to be incalculably expanded and firmly rooted.

Ségar mentions that she dictated the most important despatches to her ministers, who were, in fact, but her secretaries; and that she was the real guide and luminary of her council of state. Besides contriving deep schemes and strokes of aggrandizement for the empire, she excelled in all the arts of diplomacy, in a degree which caused old Marshal Munich to remark, that she behaved towards the sovereigns of the rest of Europe, like the most adroit of political *coquettes*. Frederick the Great, no friend to her power, used to exclaim, that, if Semiramis had ac-

quired renown by arms, Elizabeth of England by state cunning; Maria Theresa by firmness in adversity, Catharine alone deserved the title of *legislatress*. She manifested no caprice nor partiality with regard to the functionaries of the government: all were sure of remaining in place where she exercised immediate control, as long as they performed their duty;—she indulged no distrust, and they had in her a salutary confidence. We may repeat of her internal administration what Gibbon says of Zenobia, in his masterly sketch of that “the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia.” In lieu of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reign, the soundest maxims of steadiness prevailed; if it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity.

M. de Ségur was astonished at the alacrity and facility with which she passed from convivial scenes—the elegant dissipation of festive repasts, and the perfumed flatteries and sparkling dialogues of her saloon, to the study of public affairs and the transaction of business. She rose at six o'clock in the morning; made her own fire; then conferred with the police-officers and heads of departments; practised strict temperance in diet; spent the greater part of the morning with her books, or ministers; rarely admitted more than eight or ten persons to her table, encouraged free and lively discourse; chatted amiably with her guests on all topics; loved to hear and tell pleasant stories; and retired early in the evening, after taking part in whatever served to engage or amuse the court-circle. She required no guard in her excursions; forbade the people to kneel to her; allowed herself to be approached by any of her subjects; in travelling,

admitted all orders to her presence; and in the provinces, where the custom of rouging was almost universal among the women, never failed, after her public audiences, to find her visage covered with red paint, transferred from the female visitors, to all of whom she lent both cheeks to kiss. The peasantry loved her, and hailed her fondly as Mother—*Matushka*. There were no small affectations nor pretensions about this potentate, towards any description of persons, or in any of her acts or speeches.

The first and major part of the *third* volume of the *Memoirs*, is allotted to the famous journey of Catharine II. in 1787, to the Crimea, which far surpassed in gorgeous and romantic devices of adulation and homage, all the *progresses* of the English queens, and which alarmed the cabinets of Europe so far, that the balance of power seemed to them to be threatened with immediate and utter subversion. Tooke, in his *Life of the Empress*, has devoted many pages to it, and endeavoured to trace its political objects. It is better known, however, by the racy, spirited report of it in the inimitable *Letters* of the Prince de Ligne; and it is now delightfully freshened, in some degree dramatized, and much more particularly narrated, by our author, who was one of her chosen companions. Besides him, the British ambassador, Fitz-Herbert, (afterwards Lord St. Helens), the Austrian Count de Cobentzel, the Prince de Ligne, and her favourite Momonoff, were, for eight hundred leagues, of her domestic party; always at the same table, and in the same drawing-room, and often in the same carriage. The king of Poland was to appear, and make obeisance on her route; the emperor of the west, (to use Ségr's language), Joseph II., humbling his diadem, and laying aside his sceptre, awaited the signal to mingle with her

courtiers, in order to draw closer the bonds of an alliance, equally formidable to the liberty of Poland, the security of Prussia, and the peace of Europe, "At once a courtier and a negotiator," observes our author, "I myself was instructed by my master, to cultivate more and more the favour of Catharine, and *to watch, at the same time, with diligence, the designs and actions of the ambitious princess.*" This scheme of espionage was, no doubt, common to the ambassadors in her suite; and she knew it, and knew them, as they knew themselves, to be alike spies on each other: and hence, universal distrust and jealousy, anxious and studied caution, insidious and suspected remark, amid all the familiarity of intercourse, the flow of humour, the sallies of genius, and the bursts of merriment, which are recorded of the inner, Olympian circle. Below and without, all was similarly hollow and trustless; and this condition of things extorts from Séjur the remark—"Travelling alone, one sees men, countries, customs, establishments, such as they really are; but in accompanying a monarch, the traveller finds everything prepared, disguised, coloured for the purposes of display; and in the words and actions of men, under such circumstances, he scarcely discovers more sincerity than in the manifestos of politicians." Prince Potemkin transplanted whole communities and forests; raised magnificent palaces and temples; spread enchanted gardens; assembled armies, fleets, Tartar tribes, and vassal khans and hospodars; illuminated savage mountains and immense plains; and lavished vast sums in other gigantic and splendid devices; in order that his imperial mistress might survey only a dazzling picture of power, abundance, pomp, and delight, and concentrate the rays of her favour upon the servant who so loyally, gallantly, and successfully promoted the happiness of her people, the glory of

her throne, and the pleasures of her expedition. Every guest and attendant near her, perpetually tasked his ingenuity for new forms and conceits of flattery and delusion ; and if we may judge from the samples of compliment which Ségur produces, her understanding must have been much oftener offended than her vanity was regaled. Indeed, to be the object of this artificial tribute of obsequiousness, selfishness, and frivolity ; to be constantly practised upon as a dupe, at whatever elevation of rank, under whatever prestiges of authority, with whatever attributes of ordinary greatness and refinements of ostentatious devotion, strikes us, allowing even that artifice, insincerity, and illusion infest every condition of life, as a pitiable lot, for which a sceptre cannot compensate in the dictates of sound reason and just feeling,—even one wreathed with more flowers, and roughened by fewer asperities, than belonged to that of the Empress of All the Russias.

Horace, moralizing, directs to the tomb the attention of those who would build houses ; Catharine could hardly have nursed her stupendous projects, without sometimes thinking of the hand that surprised her in the midst of them, and quenched all the fires and dreams of her imagination. She died in 1796, of a stroke of apoplexy, after having taken her coffee as usual in the morning, and was found stretched on the floor of her private apartment. Her son Paul, whom she was supposed to have equally dreaded and disliked, was not long in the possession of the throne, before he caused the remains of his father Peter III. to be translated from the cellars of the monastery in which they had been unceremoniously deposited, and were with difficulty discovered ; and those, also, of his mother, to be brought forth, that they might be mourned and honoured together. When the coffin of the latter was opened, it

was discovered that the body had been negligently and imperfectly embalmed, and had become an object of disgust and horror: the glittering and costly ornaments with which it was profusely decked, and the magnificence of its case, conduced rather to aggravate the revolting spectacle of corruption, and emblazon the admonitory triumph of the worms that were rioting on their natural prey. Catharine had paused, and animadverted, and philosophized, with M. de Sécur, on the general dereliction of her lovers, as soon as she was understood to have dismissed them from the post of favourite; we may doubt whether she ever anticipated, in her intoxicating *progress* to the Crimea, that, when death should extinguish her radiance and power, there would not survive in any of the attendants whom she pampered with both, enough of affectionate solicitude to insure the faithful execution of the last customary expedient for the preservation of the poor relics of royal mortality.

The chief merit of Catharine II., as a monarch, appears to us to consist in her having advanced far in the accomplishment of Peter's plans of territorial aggrandizement; in her having simplified the forms of internal administration, thereby cementing the empire, and strengthening the despotism;—in her having better organized both the physical and moral force of the nation, to which Peter may be said to have first given coherence, and a determinate direction. The exorbitant ambition which characterized the Russian counsels from the earliest period, and particularly under him and Catharine, was less conspicuous, but not less intense under the intervening sovereigns. The extension of the empire was an object always kept in full view. The municipal regulations of Catharine, if minutely examined in their genius and history, will be found not to have had a generally effica-

cious operation. They were, in the circumstances of her people, adapted rather for show than use. Several of the most dazzling were merely sketched: if executed at all, it was within a very narrow compass. There was much of tinsel—dramatic pageantry—in her scheme of government, much of falsehood and hypocrisy in all her movements with respect to interior, as there was of perfidy and ambition in her foreign politics. Her letters and conversation were a sort of state theatricals. Her manifestos and official papers of every description are only exceeded by those of Imperial France. Notwithstanding all the parade of institutions, assemblies of deputies, and committees, she effected scarcely anything for the jurisprudence of her empire. We have near us a report officially made to Alexander, in 1804, by the commissioners whom he had appointed to work a reformation in this respect. From the language of the report, it is evident, that the Russian code of laws, and administration of justice had received little or no improvement, and were then in almost all points the worst imaginable. The amendment produced by the example of Catharine, by the new social forms and amusements which she established, reached no farther than the surface, and embraced but an inconsiderable part of the nation. The licentiousness of her court, although recommended by some degree of elegance, was of a most corrupting tendency, and could lead to no other refinement than that of vice. There was scarcely any real polish about it, but what belonged to herself. The Panins, the Orloffs, the Razumoffskys, the Repnins, the Potemkins were *au fond*, only half civilized. The old leaven of coarseness and ferocity predominated habitually in their style and actions. The whole train of paramours upon whom she lavished such immense sums, and whose unworthy relatives and favourites nearly monopolized the

highest and most lucrative offices of state, were of the same stamp. While such was the tone of the great dignitaries, it was not likely that their inferiors, or the nation at large, would advance rapidly in the career of true refinement. The condition of Russia under Catharine has been delineated, and the efficacy of her regulations scrutinized, by several acute and industrious inquirers. The result, according to their authority is, that as to any substantial improvement in morals or habits, as to any absolute illumination, or elevation of mind, as to political situation or domestic comfort, the mass of the nation had gained but little, although the higher classes had adopted, together with the vices, the form, and some of the institutes of civilization. The main drift of Catharine, as well as of Peter, was to make Russia powerful rather than enlightened or happy ; to render her a preponderating state in Europe. They knew indeed, particularly the latter, that, to become this preponderating state, it was necessary for her to be in some degree enlightened. In all probability, they understood at the same time, the important truth, that she needed but be *partially* so, to accomplish the purpose. Both were anxious to be thought the monarchs of a people civilized by their genius, and were therefore impatient that the Russians should *appear* such. This led to the neglect of general and fundamental improvements, because necessarily slow and obscure in their operation. The national habits and character were either not consulted at all, or treated with mischievous violence. The edifice of civilization was to be reared at once, before the materials were hewn into shape, or the rubbish of barbarism cleared away. The first business of a legislator and reformer is, properly, to remove obstacles, and an impatience for present renown, one of the most untoward dispositions with which he can begin his

task. He must feel that the best laws require time to fructify; that the moral revolutions of empires cannot be sudden, that new institutions, particularly where the state of things is such as to oppose great resistance—where the new character which they are to communicate, is to be impressed upon a vast opaque mass,—can produce their full effect, only after the succession of some generations.

Catharine did not meditate the *partition* of Poland: she meant to appropriate the whole to herself, as she monopolized Courland and the Crimea; and nothing but the dread of losing the whole, through the resistance of Prussia and Austria, could have induced her to cede a part to either. She always viewed the British empire in India with an envious eye. She did not hesitate to lend her approbation to a project—afterwards discarded from prudential motives—of marching an army through Backara to Kashmir, and thence to Bengal, in order to drive the English from the Indian peninsula.

The domestic government of Catharine was not less arbitrary, although more lenient, than that of her predecessors. However liberal her language in regard to the rights of man, the duties of princes, &c., we do not find that she imparted any share of freedom to her subjects, or even corrected systematically the heinous abuses of power so common among the Russian public functionaries of every description. The knout, the battogues, and the cudgel were used as liberally during her reign as before, and were by no means confined to the lower orders. Catharine, like her predecessors, was never free from the danger, and rarely from the apprehension, of some court conspiracy or popular tumult, which might rob her at once both of her crown and her life.

The apothegm is already old,—that, when kings reign

women rule, and when women reign men govern. Another is, that women are best defended against the follies of love by the pursuits of ambition: and the classical reader will recollect the saying of Tacitus about Agrippina—that, impatient of an equal, and eager for sway, she got rid of feminine weakness by assuming manly cares and occupations.

From all that we have read of the lives of female sovereigns, we should draw this corollary,—that an independent throne is not a seat of virtue or happiness for the sex; and that, although it has afforded scope for the display of talents and energies which are too commonly supposed to have been denied to them, yet, since it has proved almost incompatible with moral excellence and reputation, they may believe the Salique law to be the law of nature, the universal prevalence of which *they* ought to desire.

TENURE OF OFFICE.

We some time ago remarked, in a journal, observations on the subject of removals from office, which seemed to us to be far too stoical and abstract for the affairs of human nature and the true interests of the country. The writer's doctrine amounted to this—that there is no real cruelty nor injustice in dismissing a public officer,—even if beggary be the consequence—because there is, strictly, no vested right of continuance; and that the public services of parents or family connexions ought not to have the least influence whether as to appointments or removals. We should object to both sentiments. In no branch or description of human concerns, will it answer to proceed altogether upon harsh metaphysical or theoretical principles;—the feelings, the peculiar circumstances, the

natural or usual expectations of individuals, and the common prejudices or common excitements which prompt to useful and durable exertion, must be held of account in every scheme of public administration or service. There can be no efficiency, no positive security, for public ends, unless incentives to both be provided by consulting the special exigencies, the laudable pride, and the permanent advantage, of the agents employed. A thoroughly capable and upright citizen will not embark his all of subsistence, labour, and hope, in a public trust, if he is to be deemed a mere instrument on sufferance,—to be displaced or retained upon maxims purely abstract or speculative, or by a will altogether arbitrary and personal—to be insulated, as it were, between the past and the future—disjoined from the advantages of the first, and constantly exposed to encounter all the chances and difficulties of a recommencement of aim and effort.

A tenure of office utterly precarious and extremely limited, which cannot be strengthened or prolonged by ability, zeal, diligence, and pride in the discharge of the duties,—which is treated as dependent upon the contingencies, the passions, the resentments, or the pledges explicit or understood, of a quadrennial popular election, will, in the end, be shunned by the descriptions of men, who are best adapted, or alone qualified, by talents, attainments and spirit, to do justice and credit to the nation. The executive service throughout the Union would thus be abandoned to adventurers in circumstances, and with feelings, comparatively desperate,—to the most needy or pliable demagogues ready to *electioneer* in any mode as gamblers in the political lottery,—to the casual seekers, unoccupied, or improvident, tempted by the enjoyment of a brief authority or transitory gain, who would *vest* no care, no honour, no experience in their

functions, arguing that no degree of capacity, diligence and repute could create for them what is called a *vested right*.

The truth is, that such merits do beget a species of right—a special title for the office-holder and the country. They deserve, generally, reward and encouragement; they form an assurance for the public interests ;—and he who has displayed them, particularly if he has a family, and no immediate means of decent livelihood, besides the salary of his place,—possesses, when considered anew as a candidate, stronger claims upon the patriotism, equity and sympathy of a President, or any appointing magistrate or council, than other applicants. The latter have nothing to lose—they are untried—their miscarriage cannot affect their sensibility or welfare in the same degree. We repeat, that men are no where, under no circumstances, to be treated as abstractions,—algebraically as it were,—as if there were no hearts in the bosoms of either those who hold or those who give posts of honour or profit. Mere constitutional power to remove, does not give a moral competency to exercise it inhumanly, capriciously, or selfishly. The possession of it may be proper or indispensable; but to use it in this way, is to *abuse* it—to render it the very reverse of salutary—to pervert it to the injury of that general weal which it is imparted to promote. Mr. Burke justly censured the French political philosophers, who “ regarded men in their experiments, no more than they did mice in an air-pump, or in a recipient of mephitic gas;” who brought into political rule “ dispositions and doctrines that made them worse than indifferent to those sensibilities and habitudes which are the supports of the moral world.” In the most civilized states of both ancient and modern times, the security of tried worth and capacity in public office, and an estimate

of the public services of parents or relatives,—all other things or titles being equal—have been acknowledged as among the supports of the political world, for its stability, its dignity, its glory. The expectation of benefiting children, or other connexions, by patriotic exploits,—of entailing on them the active gratitude of country,—is a powerful and beautiful inducement to public virtue and usefulness, which no wise government or people would withhold.

New men in high and arduous office, whatever may be their general intellectual vigour and culture, *have to learn their business in detail*; intuition does not exist here; some experience is indispensable for efficiency. There is no government in which ministers of state, and the chief magistrate himself, are directly charged with so much particular inquiry and employment—so much drudgery and minute responsibility, as they are in that of our Union. Hence, there is none in which frequent substitutions, of secretaries at least, are so inconvenient and disadvantageous for mere business.

When the COUNTRY is well served in any post,—when the functionary sets no bad example—if he has done no more than exercise the common and indefeasible right of political preference and franchise—he ought to be safe. Any change exposes the *country* to some risk; and the public weal ought ever to be paramount to the interests of any man or any party. “*Il ne faut jamais*,” said Mirabeau, “*mettre en balance un homme et la patrie*.” “A man and the nation must never be put severally into the scales.” The system of rewarding partisans,—at the risk of the public good, and to the excitement of a scandalous avidity for place—is manifestly repugnant to *patriotism*.

It has, we acknowledge, been just pursued in France,

by the triumphant Liberals, but they plead for "the fell swoop" a vast political revolution,—a great conflict of decisive principles,—an instant responsibility for the cause of free government and civil liberty. Their own organs, however, confess that the cause and nation are disparaged by the multitude and the eagerness of the applicants—of the seekers of the loaves and fishes—in every part of France. In our republic, the same or similar excuses for substitutions do not exist. When they are made, merely to recompense zeal in favour of one candidate for the Presidency, or to punish a simple preference for another, the public evils are incurred, without a compensation that can properly be called public or deemed at all commensurate. We must confess that we feel surprised when an applicant succeeds, who has sought an office still in possession of a respectable and capable man, likely to be a severe sufferer by its loss. There is a grossness of cupidity, indelicacy and assurance in the very pursuit and demand, which offends the sensibility of generous honour, and argues in itself unfitness for the public service. The casuists have debated, without determining the point, whether, if two men be on a plank at sea in the last extremity of danger, one can justifiably push the other off, for self-preservation. This is a much stronger instance than any supposable one, of pushing a worthy and necessitous citizen out of office and bread. Yet even with the plea of the alternative of life and death, we should not like to meet, after such an act, the feelings and looks of unsophisticated nature and reason. And still more, if we were the distributors of patronage, would be ashamed to have gratified the other description of supplanters.

Another consideration may be intimated in this matter. It is that of American birth, in opposition to mere *denizen-*

ship. To be sure, after *naturalization*, all are equal; but there are still degrees, periods and forms of connexion and affinity with the natives and the soil, which should be taken into the account, when office is solicited; and there are *American* predilections which ought to be ever fostered in every American breast, and the want of which would be a reproach.

ORIGINAL POLITY.

ONE of the chapters of Machiavel's inestimable Discourses upon the First Decade of Livy, is headed, "A People accustomed to the dominion of a Prince, though by accident they may acquire their liberty, yet it is with great difficulty they can maintain it." Another—"A People corrupted in their manners, may possibly recover their liberty, but they will find insuperable obstacles to maintaining it." And a third—"If those communities, which have been free from their foundation, (as Rome) found it arduous to contrive such laws or constitutions as might keep them so, those which have been always servile must find it impossible." The Italian commentator compares a people born and bred in subjection to a despotism, but suddenly acquiring liberty, to a wild beast brought up in a cage, but breaking out by accident, and then, when in the open field, being in amazement, knowing not whither to run, how to sustain itself, or where to find refuge. He represents all this as manifest by many examples in ancient history.

If the acute and profound political philosopher lived in our times, he would, we fear, be able to discover additional illustrations in the modern. The illiteracy and crudeness of the great communities in Europe and the

former Spanish America, which are attempting to establish free governments, the density of the population in the European countries, the neighbourhood of despotic and military powers, the habits of animal grossness and servility on the one hand, and aristocratic luxury and control on the other, the prescriptive and diffusive corruption begetting general suspicion, the propensity to faction and war, the machinations or conspiracies of the adherents to royal pretenders, who always remain in dangerous number and activity—these are formidable impediments, indeed, to the acquisition of permanent freedom. What we have seen, or what we see, in the instances of the Spanish American states, of France, Italy, Belgium, confirms the idea of extreme difficulty, if not impossibility. The latter we do not adopt, but we confess that we are lost in conjectures, we grow faint in hope and gloomy in presage, when we inquire, by the light of reason and fact, into the issue of the present ferment abroad. The nations seem to be rather floundering in a vicious circle, than emerging from despotism and disorder, and advancing towards the glorious ends at which the leaders of revolution point and profess to aim. After these struggles, these discussions, these gleams of sunshine and snatches of republican equality, will they be able to bear hereditary and royal rule? Or—taking France as the chief example—are thirty-two millions, compactly situated, one-half of whom at least are unable to read or write,—a fiery, martial people—are they qualified, fitted, to enjoy and sustain republican institutions?—In the endeavour to compass even limited constitutional monarchy, they cannot avoid fierce and general conflict with the despotic sovereigns, who still wield large armies, ably commanded: and, supposing victory on their side to be certain, may not the troops and the chiefs by which it will be achieved, prove as dangerous to the cause of freedom as its first enemies?

"There are," says an esteemed writer, "dispositions and tendencies, in political as well as natural bodies, which have prevalence to help or hinder the effect of medicines and regimen; and I am apprehensive that republican improvements upon monarchical foundations will but spoil two different orders, either of which, alone, might have had strength and gracefulness." In less than half a century, there may not be a crowned head or hereditary monarch in Europe; but, still, there may not be regulated liberty, nor social advancement. Great Britain may be revolutionized, *democratized*; and, notwithstanding,—such are the materials of which the kingdom is composed,—she may be impoverished, and retrograde in the means and arts that render a nation civilly or socially prosperous, enlightened and happy. Mexico and all the South American countries, oppressed, crippled, backward as they were, have lost, fallen further behind-hand, in those respects; the statistical and financial reports of their public functionaries and writers are truly dismal. And, as to their mere political prospects, their horizon is fearfully overcast. It may be conceded, however, that, with all their ignorance and anarchy, their factions and mutual animosities, they possess more facilities and chances of "settling down" advantageously at last, than the great European nations. Their condition is much less intricate and unsound, has fewer intrinsic, inveterate perplexities and vices.

We use here a language which will be unwelcome to political optimists, who confide in the perfectibility of man and government. Many are of opinion that the cause of liberty has advanced more, even with the violent convulsions and severe miscarriages which have occurred, than if France, Italy, Spain, had remained tranquil under their sovereigns or dynasties, receiving such light and improve-

ment as the state of the world in 1789 seemed to promise. A bright spirit predicted, many years ago, that Europe even “would not bound the *agitation* which the American and French revolutions had excited;” that “the combat would be renewed again and again between *old superstition* and *young enthusiasm*;—that “the issue would generally be favourable to the latter,” and that “all governments would finally be reduced to the system of *utility*.” Every American will rejoice in such a consummation; we cannot, however, be sanguine;—we congratulate ourselves and our countrymen, that these states were not embarrassed with “monarchical foundations;” with great and licentious capitals; with feudal systems and orders; with uneducated and uncouth millions; with jealous and powerful despotisms on their borders; and with the alternatives of compromises and wars; when they began and while they prosecuted their “republican improvements.” Let us all value and cherish the more, our original privileges, our present immunities, our territorial security, our exemption from all obstacles to national felicity and greatness, except our own inordinate passions and party feuds, which we must labour to repress if we would escape finally a lot similar to that of the Europeans.

Our national prosperity is due to our original principles and circumstances, and to the institutions which may be said to have grown out of them, to be shaped and fortified by the public wisdom and virtue of our forefathers, under the favour of a Divine Providence recognized and adored in the Christian faith and spirit. To preserve those institutions is the chief interest and the sacred obligation of the Americans of the present day, as it will be of our posterity. Their inestimable value is proved by their immediate fruits at home, and has never been indirectly shown

with more force of contrast than since the last anniversary, by the occurrences abroad.

We have but to compare our general condition and the probabilities before us, with the recent convulsions and doubtful results in Europe, to be convinced that we should cherish our social and political system with the utmost fondness and vigilance. The prodigious advances which we have made—the unrivalled security and comforts which we enjoy—the anticipations that we may indulge—must not be ascribed to Presidents, cabinets or legislatures, who are all, however, necessary as instruments for the efficiency and duration of our republican order of things. It is our special advantage that no individuals, no official bodies, can destroy that order or vitally impair the public welfare. The sovereignty of the people, with the fixed maxims and arrangements for enlightening and exercising it, forms a safeguard against the designs and attempts of inordinate ambition—against all fatal abuses of delegated authority. “Happy are ye,” said a Moorish emperor to his subjects, “happy people, who have only to obey laws made by your representative, through the prophet, and I am he.” Happier, say we to our countrymen, ye, who have to obey no laws but those which are made by your representatives, whom you can peaceably change at short intervals, when you so will it, and who depend upon you for all their power and consideration ! Submission to the will of the majority, expressed and exerted according to the constitution and the laws, is the pervading and conservative principle of our whole system and weal. All are enemies to both, who wish to make exceptions to this rule, pleading partial disadvantages from its operation, in one or other part of the country, or to one or other class of citizens. This plea, if admissible, might be so often raised upon real, spurious or imaginary

grounds, that no regular scheme of polity or administration could last, or be prevented from degenerating into a business of mere expedients and ruinous concessions. This Union has been accepted by every member thereof "for better, for worse;"—the good will preponderate for all;—the casual inconvenience or suffering must be borne as the lot of humanity, in whatever relation.

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

LAPIDARY SKETCH.

THE following composition could not be expected to be taken for more than a free exercise in the lapidary style. It is much too long for a monumental inscription, but may be thought worthy of preservation as an authentic and comprehensive biographical outline in this form of tribute to splendid talents and successful energies.

UNANIMOUSLY INSCRIBED
 By
 The Bench and the Bar of —
 To the Imperishable Memory
 Of
 WILLIAM PINKNEY OF BALTIMORE;
 Who,
 By the Compass and Depth of his Legal
 Knowledge,
 The Splendour of his Oratory,
 The Pre-eminence of his Analytical and Demonstrative Powers,
 The Intenseness of his Application,
 The Ascendancy of his Genius and Name,
 And an Unremitting ambition of excellence,
 Stood,

With the Spontaneous acknowledgment of all,
First
In the numerous Profession of the Law
In these United States ;
WILLIAM PINKNEY
Was Born at Annapolis, in Maryland,
On the 17th March, A. D. 1765.
His father, an Englishman,
A younger branch of one of the most Ancient and Respectable
families of Britain.
While the father, in the glorious war of the American
Revolution,
Adhered, with conscientious, but mistaken
Loyalty
To the side of the Mother-Country ;
The Son,
Though yet in his Boyhood,
Shone, at the beginning, and throughout,
An Active, Ardent, and Decided Whig.
In that stage even, of his brilliant life,
The example of his AMERICAN Patriotism,
Was conspicuous and operative.
Educated with great care and liberality,
He became Remarkable for his attainments
In Greek and Roman Literature,
And his proficiency in all the branches
Of Collegiate instruction.
In the month of February, 1783,
He commenced a Laborious course of reading
In the Law ;
And, in the year 1786,
He was admitted to the Practice of the Courts.
His success in this career was
Rapid and Sure :
His first efforts at the Bar
Shadowed out his High destinies,
As an Orator and Lawyer.
His election into the Convention of Maryland,
Which Ratified the present Federal Constitution,

Proves the celerity of his progress
In the Esteem and Confidence of his Fellow
Citizens.

In the year 1789.

He was chosen by the county of Harford
A member of the legislature of the State,

An Assembly distinguished

Among all those of the same Era,
For Dignity, Talents, and Experience.

In this station he continued

Until the year 1792,

When he was elected by the Legislature,
A member of the Executive Council,
Of which body he became President,
And so remained until the year 1795.

At this period he again entered

The Legislature,

As the representative of Anne Arundel county.

His acuteness, dexterity and zeal

In the transaction of business;

His readiness, spirit and vigour in debate;
The beauty and richness of his fluent elocution,
Adorned with the finest imagery

Drawn from classical lore and a vivid fancy;
The manliness of his figure and the energy of
his mien,

United with a sonorous and flexible voice,
And a general animation and gracefulness of
delivery—

All these Qualities and Advantages
Contributed to give Extraordinary lustre
To his Deliberative career,

And procured him,

Throughout his Native State,

A Reputation for versatile Eloquence and
Talents,

Unrivalled in her Forensic or Legislative Annals.

In the Year 1796

He was appointed by WASHINGTON,

With the concurrence of the Federal Senate,
And without solicitation or desire on his
part,

One of the Commissioners
To carry into effect the British Treaty.
While engaged in London, in this
Important charge,

He was intrusted by the same authority,
At the instance of the Government of Maryland,
With the final Adjustment of the Claim
Of the State

To a large amount of Stock
In the Bank of England,
Owned by her at the accession
Of the War of Independence.
He executed his two fold office,
With signal Ability and Success.
Maryland recovered a sum of
Eight hundred thousand dollars,
And her Legislature bore testimony
To the Merits and Services of her Agent
In an Unanimous vote of Thanks
And a liberal pecuniary Retribution.

His Errand of Commissioner detained him
Eight years in England,
Whence he returned,
In the year 1804,
Enlightened and Accomplished
Proportionably to the great extent of his
opportunities;

But only further confirmed and animated
In his American Principles and Spirit.

He resumed at once in Baltimore,
The Practice of the Law,
With additional eclat and prosperity.
Public admiration and confidence
Increased with every new display of his
genius;

And the evidence of both was so given,
As to gratify all his hopes and interests.

Within two years after he had begun to reap
A new and ample harvest of Wealth and
Renown,
Occurred the most memorable Outrages
Upon the Neutral Rights of America,
By the Rulers of Great Britain.
To him, the Mercantile class of Baltimore
Had recourse for an Exposition of
Their Wrongs,
To the Authorities of the Union.
Amidst the many statements of Injury,
Submitted in the same manner
From the other maritime cities,
The Memorial which he framed
Obtained the chief praise,
And produced the strongest sensation,
By the Force of its Reasoning,
The Elegance of its style,
And the glow of its Patriotic sentiment.
It seemed to designate him
As the National Champion
To urge, at the Court of St. James,
Its just complaints and legitimate principles.
He was forthwith appointed
Envoy Extraordinary for that purpose
By President JEFFERSON.
Having proceeded without delay
On this Honourable and Weighty mission,
He maintained, in all respects,
The Credit and fair Pretensions of his
Country.
In 1808 he was invested
With the character of Minister Plenipotentiary
To succeed as such, JAMES MONROE,
Now Chief Magistrate of the Union;
With whom his able negotiations
With the Ministry of Fox
Had been jointly and harmoniously pursued.
In this Exalted station,
Rendered doubly Arduous and Responsible,

By those national Animosities, and Feuds,
Which finally provoked an Appeal to Arms,
He retained the Esteem and Respect
Of the Eminent and Estimable
Among the British Statesmen :
In whose Society and that of the most shining
Literati of the British Kingdoms,
He lived on a footing suitable alike
To his Official dignity and his Personal qualifications.
As a mark of the general sense
Of his rare endowments and erudite acquirements,
The degree of Doctor of Laws
Was tendered to him by
The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
In the performance of his public duty,
He proved himself Equal to the Crisis,
And to the Masters of Diplomacy,
Arrayed against him in the British Cabinet :
But, being unable to Impel them,
To those measures of Redress and Sound Policy,
Which he pursued with Unanswerable argument,
And a spirit becoming the Representative
Of a Powerful though Pacific people,
He returned to the United States,
In the year 1811,
To encourage his Countrymen and Government
To a Steadfast and Strenuous Vindication of their Rights ;
And to repair, by renewed labours
In his Favourite vocation,
The breaches made in his private fortune,
By his Munificent style of living abroad.
In this enterprise he quickly reaped
Unexampled Emoluments and Triumphs.
Almost immediately after his return
He was elected a Member
Of the Senate of Maryland,
And in a short time appointed
Attorney General of the United States.
When, in 1812, the Flames of War
Were lighted up between

The United States and Great Britain,
With his Pen, his Voice, his Example,
And the whole sway of his character,
He urged Courage, Activity and Perseverance
In the Noble contest.

Commander of a small battalion of Riflemen,
He marched forth with Eagerness
To meet the invading enemy at Bladensburg,
Where, in the Disastrous battle of that name,
He was severely wounded.

Soon after, he received, in his election
As member of the House of Representatives of
The United States,

A new proof of the favour of this community ;
And in the month of April, 1816,
Fresh demonstration of the Public reliance
On his Abilities and Patriotism,

In his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary
To the Court of Russia,
With a previous special mission, as Envoy Extraordinary
To that of Naples.

In these embassies he acquitted himself,
As in his other public employments,
To the full satisfaction of the Government.

His private concerns, often sacrificed
In the promotion of National ends,
Soon recalled him from Europe

To his original pursuits at home.

In these, he exhibited again
A surpassing Diligence and resplendent Capacity ;
Such as won for him a practice
Larger and more Lucrative
Than perhaps, had ever accrued to any

American Lawyer.—

This was his peculiar sphere

In which he most delighted ;

But the Glory which he acquired in it,
And his Experience and Ability in Others,
Rendered him in the eyes of his Fellow Citizens
An object too Worthy of their suffrages

For Political honours and functions,
To be allowed to move in That alone.—

The Legislature of Maryland
Placed him in the Senate of the United States;
And there was no Office, or Dignity
Within the power of the State to bestow,
To which he might not have aspired
Without fear of disappointment.
WILLIAM PINKNEY
Departed this Transitory life,
In the Maturity of his fame and strength,
After a Sudden and Short illness,
Leaving a Numerous and Respectable family,
In the 57th year of his age.
His Dissolution took place
At Washington,
On the 26th day of February, A. D. 1822—
The year in which this Tablet
Was here erected,
And the foregoing Outline of his course,
Thus traced,
Not only as a Monument of Gratitude
For the Radiance which he shed
On the Profession of the Law,
But as a Lesson of Emulation
To all its Surviving and Future Members.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

In one of Mr. Wirt's fine essays under the title "Old Bachelor," a work which has passed through many editions, an attempt is made to argue down colleges as seminaries for youth. The authority of the late Attorney General's exalted name, the popularity of his essays, the riteness of the prejudice which he upholds, and the real importance of the subject, induce us to give our imperfect

comments on his opinions. To this we have additional inducement in the circumstance that, in a Life of Vice-President Van Buren, of recent date and wide circulation, the biographer, himself a professor in a classical institute, labours to strengthen the common prejudice, and earnestly claims superior advantage for merely domestic, social, and vernacular training.

The arguments employed in the twenty-eighth Number against foundations for tuition are, in substance, the objections made especially to the University of Oxford and Cambridge, by Adam Smith and the Edinburgh Review. The papers of that Review concerning the Oxford edition of Strabo and Edgeworth's Professional Education, and the second article of the first chapter of the fifth book of the Wealth of Nations, are evidently the sources of most of our author's notions on the subject; and doubtless, he would have put them forth, had he ever pursued the several expositions and vindications of the true character and course of studies of those sects of learning, which have been since published, particularly the Oxford Replies, in which the Scottish reviews are refuted, with equal strength of reasoning and elegance of diction. We do not mean to undertake here the defence of Mr. Barlow's plan of a National University, which the Old Bachelor chiefly assails; nor do we propose to discuss the main question; but we think it advisable to make a few loose remarks of a general nature, and to notice some errors of fact into which he seems to have fallen. In the first place, it is unfair and illogical to argue from the inconveniences or disappointments which may have been found to attend institutions formed in the dark ages upon the principles and prejudices of those ages, organized with a view to particular, ecclesiastical ends, and fettered with a multitude of gothic regulations and statutes. If universities so

constituted, were slow to abandon exploded errors, and to recognise new modes of philosophizing, it does not follow that the like would happen with the great colleges we might now construct, of which the arrangement must necessarily be conformable to the liberal spirit of sturdy reason, and mature experience of the age. In the present state of knowledge, it is difficult to conceive what discoveries or improvements could be made, which such establishments would have an interest or inclination to reject; which they would not, indeed, be eager to appropriate and advance. Again, although the absolute governments of Europe may have made learned societies and corporations the conduits of their favourite doctrines, and those bodies may have leaned to the side of power and prerogative against the people, general circumstances are so different in this country, that it is obvious nothing similar could occur. With whatever share of the management of a university the federal executive, or that of a state, might be invested, we must still hold it impossible he should succeed in warping such an institution to any sinister purposes of his own, when we consider his general official responsibility, the vigilance of republican jealousy, the American spirit of independence, and the justness and force of public opinion. It is this opinion, ever active and irresistible, the watchfulness of rival institutions, and the ambition of fame, besides the supervision of authority, which would prevent remissness on the part of the professors, although their chairs should be so endowed as to furnish an ample subsistence. But it would not be necessary that they should be made entirely independent on their hearers; that the situation of a professor should be a fixed station, which no exertion could render more lucrative. Let enough be assigned to each chair to shield the occupant from want; to compensate him for

the risk he incurs in the outset; and let him look for further emolument to his class, and he will have the same stimulus as the private teacher for unremitting exertion, added to the incitement of acting on a public and more exalted theatre; he will equally find his account in keeping up with the march of science, and adopting all improvements without delay. In short, in the case either of a great national institute or of state universities, most of the dangers announced must prove imaginary; the apprehensible evils might be easily obviated, and the universally acknowledged and precious uses of such institutions secured almost without alloy.

We are told by the Old Bachelor, that in the progress of society, funds for collegiate establishments will no doubt be accumulated; when their benefits are evident and a necessity for them felt, independently of government; that the rich who have funds will, whenever they are strongly impressed with the necessity of it, either by associations or otherwise, provide proper seminaries for the education of their offspring. These allegations are certainly at war with all experience, and especially with that of Virginia, where, as our author bitterly complains, but one considerable public school exists, and this founded by an English monarch. Notwithstanding the extent of private opulence in that state, and the serious inconveniences and disadvantages so long suffered from the absence of establishments, presenting a regular, systematic, wide range of instruction; it is the government which has finally been compelled to undertake them, and provide means for support. We consider it as fortunate for Virginia, that she has not allowed herself to be influenced in this matter by the opinion of the Old Bachelor, but has preferred to follow the example of all the enlightened nations of modern times; an example which is in itself a

strong argument in favour of public endowments. "We shall find," says the Old Bachelor, "that the most eminent men in Europe, particularly in England, have received their education neither at public schools or universities." This statement is altogether inaccurate. As respects the continent of Europe, the very reverse may be affirmed. By far the greater part of those who illustrate its annals, either as divines, statesmen, jurists, scholars, poets, military commanders, passed through its universities, in which a liberal education has been, at all times, almost exclusively sought. With regard to England, the great majority of her brightest names are to be found on the rolls of Oxford and Cambridge: The Bacons, the Newtons, the Barrows, the Clarkes, the Spencers, the Miltos, Drydens, Addisons, Temples, Hales, Clarendons, Mansfields, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Wyndham, &c. are in the list of their alumni.

It may indeed be safely affirmed, that, for ages past, in Great Britain, the great majority of those who have reached the higher functions of office and honour, in almost every department of the public service,—the military and naval scarcely excepted,—and who have discharged them with most distinction and efficiency, were educated at the great classical schools. We may say the same of her two houses of Parliament almost universally, all the members of her cabinets, the plurality of her diplomatists, &c.

The volumes entitled the Oxford Prize Essays are known in our country, and properly admired for the elegance and general value of their contents. These carry direct evidence of the opportunity and incitement which the universities afford for early proficiency in general knowledge; philosophical and moral disquisition, pure, terse, and flowing expression. At the same time, when attention is given to the subsequent public stations and

labours of most of the writers, it will be found that they prove also the ultimate practical utility of the literary discipline of the colleges, for the students and the nation. The examples are many, various, and equally striking and decisive.

The reader's eye is at once caught by names that have since become known to the world as ornaments of the bar, the bench, the cabinet, the church, and the scientific world; and the endeavour is spontaneously made to ascertain how far the known and distinguishing traits of these eminent minds are discernible in their youthful compositions. John Scott, afterwards Lord Chancellor Eldon; Henry Addington, Lord Sidmouth; S. Burgess, since Bishop of Salisbury; E. Copleston, of Llandaff; R. Mant, of Down; Connor and Heber, of Calcutta; Lord Tenterden and M. Milman; M. Sandford; Dr. Wilson, A. Robertson—the astronomer. Dr. C. H. Hall, J. Phillimon; R. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; M. Dennison, &c.

Even were it true, that the most eminent men have not been bred in public schools, the fact would not affect the question of their eligibility with a view to the training and instruction of the mass of individuals. It has justly been remarked, that plans of education can never *create* great men; that native vigour and persevering exertion lead to excellence and eminence of every kind, and that to aid, encourage, and direct those qualities is all that can be done in any scheme of education. We are firmly persuaded that seminaries upon a large scale are best adapted to the generality of cases; to the developement of ordinary faculties and to the general diffusion and estimation of knowledge.

The Old Bachelor has repeated, inconsiderately, after the Edinburgh Review, that in the English universities the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle have hardly yet

given way to the Novum Organum of Bacon. It is long since the metaphysics of the stagirite have ceased to be taught there, and if his logic has not been discarded, it is recast and purified in the compends used, so as to constitute, perhaps, the best manual in that branch of knowledge, which, we presume, no man of judgment wishes to see expunged from the list of collegiate acquirements. The Organum of Bacon was not designed by the author himself to supersede that of Aristotle. They have no relation to each other, and are in no way incompatible. The treatise of Bacon is confined to the department of physical science, and a great authority has truly said; that though it formed a grand era in the history of philosophy, to propose it as a manual of instruction, or a guide for philosophical inquiries in the present age, is to mistake its true nature and design. As for the course of education pursued at the English universities, it is much more liberal and practical than is commonly supposed; it is demonstrably we think, the best, as far as regards the preference given to classical and mathematical studies; and at all events, nothing, as we have before intimated, would be easier than to obviate the evil tendencies, and supply the deficiencies imputed to those institutions, in the construction of similar ones on this side of the water.

OXFORD,

AS DESCRIBED BY ^{THE} AUTHOR IN A LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

THE impression made on my mind by the first aspect of Paris was scarcely more lively or profound, than that which I experienced on entering Oxford. Great towns

were already familiar to my eye, but a whole city sacred to the cultivation of science, composed of edifices no less venerable for their antiquity than magnificent in their structure, was a novelty, which at once delighted and overpowered my imagination. The entire population is in some degree appended and ministerial to the colleges. They comprise nearly the whole town, and are so noble and imposing, although entirely Gothic, that I was inclined to apply to the architecture of Oxford what has been said of the schools of Athens ;

“ The Muse alone unequal dealt her rage,
And graced with noblest pomp her earliest stage.”

Spacious gardens laid out with taste and skill are annexed to each college, and appropriated to the exercises and meditations of the students. The adjacent country is in the highest state of cultivation, and watered by a beautiful stream, which bears the name of Isis, the divinity of the Nile and the Ceres of the Egyptians. To you who know my attachment to letters, and my veneration for the great men whom this university has produced, it will not appear affectation, when I say that I was most powerfully affected by this scene, that my eyes filled with tears, that all the enthusiasm of a student burst forth.

After resting, I delivered next morning, my letter of introduction to one of the professors, Mr. V—, and who undertook to serve as my *cicerone* through the university. The whole day was consumed in wandering over the various colleges and their libraries, in discoursing on their organization, and in admiring the Gothic chapels, the splendid prospects from their domes, the collection of books, of paintings, and of statuary, and the portraits of the great men who were nursed in this seat of learning. Both here and at Cambridge, accurate likenesses of such as have by their political or literary elevation, ennobled

their *alma mater*, are hung up in the great halls, in order to excite the emulation of their successors, and perpetuate the fame of the institution. I do not wish to fatigue you by making you the associate of all my wanderings and reflections, but only beg you to follow me rapidly through the picture-gallery attached to the celebrated Bodleian library. It is long indeed, and covered with a multitude of original portraits, but from them I shall merely select a few, in which your knowledge of history will lead you to take a lively interest.

I was struck with the face of Martin Luther the reformer. It was not necessary to have studied Lavater to collect from it, the character of his mind. His features were excessively harsh though regular, his eye intelligent but sullen and scowling, and the whole expression of his countenance, that of a sour, intemperate overbearing controversialist. Near him were placed likenesses of Locke, Butler, and Charles II., painted by Sir Peter Lely; with the countenance of Locke you are well acquainted, that of Butler has nothing sportive in it—does not betray a particle of humour, but is, on the contrary, grave, solemn and didactic in the extreme, and must have been taken in one of his splenetic moods, when brooding over the neglect of Charles, rather than in one of those moments of inspiration, as they may be styled, in which he narrated the achievements of Hudibras. The physiognomy of Charles is, I presume, familiar to you, lively but not “spiritual.” Lord North is among the number of heads, and I was caught by his strong resemblance to the present king; so strong as to remind one of the scandalous chronicles of times past.

The face of Mary queen of Scots next attracted my notice. It was taken in her own time, and amply justi-

fies what historians have written, or poets have sung, concerning her incomparable beauty. If ever there was a countenance meriting the epithet of lovely in its most comprehensive signification, it was this, which truly "vindicated the veracity of Fame," and in which, I needed not the aid of imagination, to trace the virtues of her heart. In reading Hume and Whitaker I have often wept over her misfortunes, and now turned with increased disgust from an original portrait of Elizabeth, her rival and assassin, which was placed immediately above, and contributed to heighten the captivations of the other, by the effect of contrast. The features of Elizabeth are harsh and irregular, her eye severe, her complexion bad, her whole face, in short, just such as you would naturally attach to such a mind.

Among the curiosities of the gallery may be ranked, a likeness of Sir Philip Sydney, done with *a red hot poker*, on wood, by a person of the name of Griffith, belonging to one of the colleges. It is really a monument of human patience and ingenuity, and has the appearance of a good painting. I cannot describe to you without admiration another most extraordinary *freak* of genius exhibited here, and altogether *unique* in its kind. It is a portrait of Isaac Tuller, a celebrated painter in the reign of Charles II., executed by *himself when drunk*. Tradition represents it as an admirable likeness, and of inebriety in the abstract, there never was a more faithful or perfect delineation. This anecdote is authentic, and must amuse the fancy, if we picture to ourselves the artist completely intoxicated, inspecting his own features in a mirror, and hitting off, with complete success, not only the general character, but the peculiar stamp, which such a state must have impressed upon them. His conception was as full of humour as of originality, and well adapted to the system of man-

ners which the reigning monarch introduced and patronized. As I am on the subject of portraits, permit me to mention three to which my attention was particularly called on my visit to the university of Dublin. They were those of Burke, Swift, and Bishop Berkeley, done by the ablest masters. The latter must have had one of the most impressive physiognomies ever given to man, "*the human face divine.*" That of Burke is far inferior, but strongly marked by an indignant smile; a proper expression for the feelings by which his mind was constantly agitated towards the close of his life. The face of Swift from which you would expect everything, is dull, heavy, and unmeaning.

Portrait painting is the *forte*, as it has always been the passion of this country. Happily for the inquisitive stranger, every rich man has all his progenitors and relatives on canvass. The walls of every public institution are crowded with benefactors and pupils, and no town hall is left without the heads of the corporation, or the representatives of the borough. The same impulse that prompts us to gaze with avidity on the persons of our contemporaries, if there be anything prominent in their character, or peculiar in their history, leads us to turn a curious and attentive eye on the likenesses of the "mighty dead," whose souls as well as faces are thus in some degree transmitted to posterity. Next to my association with the living men of genius who render illustrious the names of Englishmen, no more sensible gratification has accrued to me from my residence in this country, than that of studying the countenances of their predecessors; no employment has tended more efficaciously to improve my acquaintance with the history of the nation, to animate research, and to quicken the spirit of competition.

I quitted Oxford with a fervent wish that such an establishment might one day grace our own country. I have uttered an ejaculation to the same effect whenever the great monuments of industry and refinement which Europe displays exclusively, have fallen under my observation. We have indeed just grounds to hope that we shall one day eclipse the old world.

“ Each rising art by just gradation moves,
Toil builds on toil, and age on age improves.”

SENSIBILITY A W R Y.

WE have remarked in a public journal, an appeal to public sympathy in favour of a murderer, on the ground that he perpetrated his crime under the influence of the strongest of *passions*. The case is the deliberate assassination of a woman by her paramour, after a long illicit connexion. Generally we are opposed to the punishment of death, and should be glad to see, even in this instance, a commutation—but no relaxation of legal rigour ought to be conceded to such a plea as the one here mentioned. It is against the excesses of passion, that penal sanctions are chiefly directed. The grim terrors of the code are particularly required to prevent the indulgence of the fiercer humours. Even small offences are visited with a severity proportioned to the proneness of culprits to commit them, or the probable frequency of their occurrence. Intoxication with liquor, is deemed in the courts an aggravation of crime. The headlong fury of jealous resentment does not deserve to be viewed in a more favourable light. Burke, of Edinburgh, butchered his victims from the want of bread, or the thirst of gain;—the

highwayman and the burglar give the excuse of necessity: Whatever the impulse to guilt, some suppression or aberration of the reason may ever be alleged and admitted. In this mode, however, sentimentalists might argue or whine away the whole body of *crimes* and punishments. It is the duty of every true friend of humanity and order, to protest against perverted sensibilities or sophistical refinements, which find warrant or apology for depraved appetites—for the worst distemperature of the mind and the most fatal catastrophes,—in natural propension and unrestrained feeling. Spurious sympathy is a more prolific evil than sanguinary rigour, useless and pernicious as the latter is in our humble opinion. Public executions do greater harm than good—but are not worse than morbid public commiseration and entreaty for criminals, to whom the real justice of the law has been applied, after fair and merciful trial.

As to public executions in general, it may be remarked that while the British are returning to a kind of ferocity in managing them, we are running into an opposite extreme, wearing the air of sickly sensibility and pious cant. The course pursued in this country not only exacts the tenderest sympathies for the wretch at the gallows, but inculcates the idea of his certain salvation and immediate ascent to heaven. To commit a murder, and compass eternal beatitude, within a few months, are matters thus associated in the public mind, and this association turns the example of the execution into something of an incentive to the gratification of those criminal passions and propensities which may thus speedily lead, by an exit no longer ignominious, to the bosom of Abraham. There is a medium for all affairs. Clergymen, if they must ascend the scaffold with the condemned felon, may exercise their

ministry on the sad occasion, without forgetting that his interests or their reputation for pious zeal are not alone concerned.

If murderers at the gallows are to excite in the public the feelings and expectations due to victims and martyrs—if scaffolds are to serve as the theatres of fanatical exhibitions, and to be viewed as step-ladders to celestial happiness and glory, the sooner our legislatures bethink themselves of some new mode of dealing with the violators of human and divine law, the better; at least, if it should be still thought useful to adhere to the idea of aiming at the prevention of crime by the example of punishment.

The lexicographers define *resolution* to be, “firmness in good or bad.” Those, unquestionably, are qualities which may be, and often have been, *ingredients* in the character of felons as well as in that of a Zeno or a Cato, —a Brutus, a Hannibal, or a Washington. They may be rendered ministerial to noble or to atrocious ends.

Many of the worst criminals, who, in different ages and countries, have justly suffered ignominious death on the wheel, the block or the gallows, were men of “extraordinary character,” of singular acuteness, of the most decided spirit. To acknowledge this fact is not to applaud their conduct or admire their general ultimate character: to note it may serve as a memento that the highest original energies are susceptible of the most deplorable perversion or desperate misapplication; and that, in education, care should be taken to distinguish and direct the strong qualities of the heart and head, in such a manner as to make them finally the instruments of virtue and the means of public honour and private happiness.

We have constantly remembered what we early read in the works of Mr. Burke—that it is the propensity of

degenerate minds to admire or worship *splendid wickedness*; that, with too many persons, the ideas of justice and morality are fairly conquered and overpowered by guilt when it is grown gigantic, and happens to be associated with the lustre of genius, the glare of fashion, or the robes of power. Against this species of degeneracy or illusion, it has been our uniform endeavour to guard ourselves, and our conscientious practice to warn and exhort others. The integrity and delicacy of the moral sense, whether in individuals or communities, form a most important subject of the care of all public writers and speakers, in all transactions by which, or the history or treatment of which, the public judgment and feelings may be affected. Hence, when mail-robbers, or murderers, are to be tried or executed, we should be disposed to avoid all extraordinary bustle, or concern, or voluminous details about their fate—we should deem it the true policy of practical ethics to abstain from every thing calculated to produce adventitious interest or consequence for the culprits. It is not with pleasure that we hear of the crowds that besiege the door of the court-room, or see in the newspapers the many columns of evidence, with an endless repetition of trifling circumstances,—any more than we can rejoice for the cause of moral and social order, when convicted highwaymen or murderers are carried to the gallows as *saints*, and hung amidst vast assemblages, either merely indulging a callous curiosity, or losing all the horror of their offences in emotions of compassion or admiration, awakened by the dramatic nature of the whole scene.

EXAMPLE,

**CASE OF FAUNTLEROY, WHO WAS EXECUTED FOR FORGERY IN LONDON,
IN 1825.**

This personage had prosecuted his system of fraud for a long series of years ; imposed upon those who trusted him with their money, and upon the world, by studied appearances of the nicest honour and strictest punctuality ; and, in the end, ruined a considerable number of the most respectable families. His forgeries were so extensive as to require sixteen thousand pounds to be paid yearly in dividends alone, in order to prevent detection. He practised consummate art in concealing his robberies and deluding his victims. The most friendly accounts of him acknowledge that “ his habits of life were voluptuous and expensive.” He married a woman with whom he had cohabited, and from the moment of the marriage separated himself from her entirely ; and soon after formed a connexion with another female by whom he had several children, and with whom he lived openly. His education was not liberal, nor did he possess any superiority of intellect or general information. The utmost that could be said in his favour was that “ his manners were easy and gentlemanlike, and bespoke his having been accustomed to good society ; ” that “ his temper appeared to be equable and mild ; ” that “ he had a good taste on certain subjects ; ” and that “ he was gifted with a considerable portion of industry and expertness in business.” The London papers mention besides, very emphatically, that he was in the 41st year of his age ; of middle stature, rather inclined to stoutness ; of pale complexion and hair quite gray ; and being short sighted, he constantly wore glasses.

Such was the man, who, as soon as it was known that he was committed to gaol for his wide-wasting crimes, attracted to himself all the sympathies that had been centered in the famous assassin and butcher Thurtell. Every mind was busy with his history and fate; each print teemed with splendid biographical notices—splendid either as to virtues, or atrocities in part equal fictitious—he had been a Cato or a Heliogabalus, a stoic or a sybarite. The doors of his prison were crowded with persons of all ranks eager to obtain a glimpse of the hero about whom all the trumpets of good and ill fame were incessantly sounded.

When he was tried, the public interest and excitement advanced like the Colombian bonds or Mexican scrip: when he was convicted, they rose still higher; and his written defence at the trial and all the movements of his body and the evolutions of his countenance, were marked and most solemnly reported to relieve the cravings of universal curiosity. The judge who pronounced sentence upon him shed tears in so doing, and torrents fell from thousands of eyes on the same occasion. The next agitating scene was the determination by the twelve judges, of points of law raised to extricate him; and grief gushed forth anew when it was known that all the learning and ingenuity of counsel had proved fruitless. A dreadful suspense then followed,—not breathless, for every tongue and every pen were in activity concerning it—while the point of his execution was before the privy-council. No mercy could be shown, but some very “great personage,” we believe the king himself, sobbed as the death warrant was signed.

Meanwhile, in his prison, he was kindly “visited by and received letters from very many gentlemen of great respectability”—“persons who were strangers to him,

also wrote to him and sent him books ;" the jailors and turnkeys and their wives could not do enough to render his situation comfortable and exhilarate his spirits ; clergymen flocked to him, and mingled the tenderest condolence with their fond spiritual aid—regular stenographers and newspaper caterers entered, and watched him like Arguses, to catch all expressions, sighs and looks, in every situation in which he and his visitors, or the officers and inmates of Newgate, happened to be placed. They described him as he stood, walked, and sat, as he slept, as he shaved and dressed, as he breakfasted and dined, as he heard sermons and exhortations, as he bade daily adieux to his retrieved wife and his cherished mistress, and their beloved children : and at length the imagination of a poor Italian teacher of languages was so much heated by all that he heard and saw on the subject, that he became clamorous before the Lord Mayor and other authorities to be permitted to swing in the place of " the unfortunate gentleman," upon whose preservation the happiness of so many worthy people seemed to depend.

The most remarkable incidents, perhaps, are those in which his wife and mistress were the other *dramatis personæ*.—The former he had not consented to see for many years, and they lived apart with abundant content : but when his brilliant notoriety and new existence as a detected, gigantic forger began, the most passionate love and sorrow sprang up in her heart—she must see him, present his son to him, die with him ; and he gave her and the youth, a sweet welcome. At the same period, however, the other lady, a Mrs. Forbes, about 22 years of age, " endowed with much personal beauty," daily appeared before him too, with her offspring, and was received with at least an equal display of affection. His final interviews with each, and the ghostly advice which

he administered to each before he tore himself from her arms, are most pathetically told. Gay, when he wrote his Beggar's Opera, never anticipated that the scenes between Captain Macheath and his favourites would be so far outdone in reality.

We have not room to trace all the leading occurrences of the sequel. Suffice it to add that immense crowds were assembled many hours, through the night, under a heavy rain, before the time when he was brought forth to the scaffold; that nearly one hundred thousand persons were collected, and among them numbers of "respectable looking females," all attired in deep black; that uncontrollable anguish threw gentlemen and ladies into hysterics and swoons; that those who could articulate cried out to Mr. Fauntleroy as he ascended the platform, "God bless you"—that he showed more firmness than any other man who was hung "since the time of Tidd;" that he was firmly believed by all to be full of divine grace; that the smallest articles of his dress were piously preserved; that the body was deposited in a leaden coffin and then in a *superb* case; and that the funeral, though private, was conducted in the most fashionable style.

DUELING.

"A moral, sensible, and well bred man
Will not affront me, and no other can."

We have uniformly reprobated duelling, and every new case serves to confirm the worst opinion of the custom,

and the artificial or spurious honour upon which it is founded.

The number of its victims in the United States, within the last thirty years, is greater relatively than in any other country, and includes the two foremost and ablest Americans in their several spheres—General Hamilton and Commodore Decatur.

But the public, or a part of the public, are in fault, almost as heavily as the combatants; men quarrel, stigmatize each other, and then, if they do not fight, contempt is too generally expressed for their forbearance. The moral courage necessary for the refusal of a challenge, or the omission to give one, in such instances, is overcome by the dread of public opinion. There is often a wanton and fatal levity in treating the subject, beforehand; with which the subsequent indignation,—though proper in itself, since wilful homicide of the kind must always be criminal—cannot be denied to be widely inconsistent.

As it is a false, bastard honour, that actuates the principals in these cases, it is a false, bastard friendship which prompts the seconds or other assistants, and which they usually allege to justify their *misprision* of suicide. We find no terms sufficiently energetic for our feelings, wherewith to express our reprobation of those who connive at the criminal intention; who, being apprised of it—no matter in what character, or upon what invocation, or under what injunction—do not at once proclaim it, so that means of baffling it might be employed, and every possible delay interposed.

In the consideration of the guilt of all parties, we have so far said nothing of the outrage upon heaven.

“Vain man! 'tis Heaven's prerogative
To take what first it deign'd to give,

Thy tributary breath:
In awful expectation placed,
Await thy doom, nor, impious, haste
To pluck from God's right hand his instruments of death.”

The author of the “*Fable of the Bees*,” though a pleader for the custom of duelling, acknowledges thus much in his remarks on “Honour:” “The only thing of weight that can be said against modern honour is, that it is directly opposite to religion. The one bids you bear injuries with patience; the other tells you, that if you do not resent them, you are not fit to live. Religion commands you to leave all revenge to God:—honour bids you trust your revenge to no one but yourself, even where the law would do it for you. Religion plainly forbids murder:—honour openly justifies it. Religion bids you not shed blood on any account whatever:—honour bids you fight for the least trifle. Religion is built on humility, and honour on pride. How to reconcile them must be left to wiser heads than mine.” It would indeed puzzle the wisest.

There is, too, a heinous offence against society as a body requiring the purest example, on the part of the persons whom it has pleased the Almighty to raise to that height, at which their actions serve as signals and guides. Duelling is a weakness and wickedness to which the American community, and the military part in an especial degree, are particularly prone; and with respect to which therefore their dignitaries lie under a peculiar obligation of abstinence and discountenance, whether we consider them merely as members of society, patriots, or as Christians. In either of these relations, it is their eminent duty to shun and discredit it with every manifestation of contempt and abhorrence.

The Congress of the United States, should, where they have jurisdiction, visit it with penal consequences of the most operative kind, and in cases in which it is not within reach of their arm, affix to it the deepest stigma which the solemn expression from them of a profound sense of its enormity, can be supposed adequate to inflict. We recollect, with shame, that when a motion to that effect was submitted, in the Federal Senate, on the occasion of the disgraceful and atrocious butchery in the case of two citizens of Virginia who fought with *muskets*, not only was opposition made, but a member, in resisting it, pronounced a pompous panegyric on the aggressor, who happened to be the victim.

We have had enough of the race of *pistol* politicians—fierce and headlong wranglers, ready to provoke the effusion of blood and the infringement of the most sacred obligations, in contending for the ascendancy of particular men or particular maxims in the political world—we can spare any member of this order, better than we could one individual of sober, unbiassed judgment, disciplined conduct, and genuine, operative, ethical principles, extending to all the relations and walks of life.

The ancients defined *honour* to be either the observance of virtue, or reverence to that merit. The philosophers generally have declared it to consist in probity and usefulness; in the discharge of duties and the culture of morals. A modern writer of eminence, distinguishing between false modern *honour* and true *dignity*, says—the first is that which makes a man assail even the life of his friend for a punctilio or a momentary excitement; the latter, that which makes him despise every paltry affront from others, and apologize for every apparent or unjust affront on his part. The genuine sense of honour in gentlemen of the navy or army, would seem to be earnest-

ness for the attainment of all the knowledge and skill, and the force of resolution, conducive to excellence and efficiency in their professions. So far as *fighting* belongs to their career, it is for their country, and not for themselves: they have their own lives less at their disposal than mere citizens; because they have specially pledged themselves to their government. *Honour* must be something positive and universal;—theirs cannot be different from that of other gentlemen; or if it differs, the variation arises from the obligation under which they labour, of being particularly tenacious of their lives on other occasions than professional battle or service. It is, therefore, quite an error, or superstition, in them, to suppose that they are required to resent slighter personal affronts, or to fight duels for slighter cause, than other people. The sound part of the world must view their case in the contrary light. Plato understood true *honour*, when, on being informed that certain persons had spoken ill of him, he observed—“ We will lead such a life that none shall believe them.”

The *honour* of youth is, to be, in the language of Solomon, “as the morning light, which shineth more and more, unto the perfect day.” The unostentatious pursuit of operative worth is their proper business;—they cannot be justly said to have any reputation for which to fight or to bluster, until they have qualified themselves, or have begun, to serve or to adorn the community to which they belong. Duels, if to be endured at all, are tolerable only in persons of a certain maturity of age, character and station—who have, as it were, surface and depth of credit and interests to be wounded or outraged.

There are several kinds of valour, very distinct. Mere animal courage is common to brutes, and to a large portion of the vulgarest, the most savage or vicious of the human race. The *artificial* spirit is that which is pro-

duced by particular position, necessity, or other combination of peculiar circumstances. Oftentimes, or in most instances, its immediate source is *fear*; the dread of punishment or disgrace. The celebrated orator—Wyndham—a nice critic of human nature, remarked, that this is the principle of *discipline*; that discipline is essential to the very life and action of armies, and of course, that “all the high military merits, whose characteristic is courage, grow, like flowers out of dung, from what is founded in fear.” He carried the doctrine too far; for, love of glory, the sense of duty, the alacrity of emulation, are, perhaps, the chief impulses with the higher officers in the career of arms. But no writer has questioned the theory that the courage of duelling or suicide, is, generally, artificial, and resolvable into some sort of cowardice. According to high authority, “the only genuine, comprehensive and invincible courage, is inseparably connected with universal rectitude and religious hope”—that is, *moral courage*, guided by reason and philanthropy, and looking to the future as well as the present life.

“Gentlemen and men of honour” have, indeed, but one course to pursue; that is—to prove the innocence of their conduct, convict their assailants of error or injustice, and then treat all bluster and menace with contempt. There are certain maxims of religion, reason, humanity, and positive law, which it would seem incumbent upon *men of honour* to regard, even more than the dictates of revenge and the judgments of folly and prejudice.

Real courage and dignity are wholly alien to false shame, sanguinary vindictiveness, or a reluctant, shuffling compliance with reprobate usage, and what professed bullies, and unreflecting or deluded minds, are supposed to expect. We do not believe that any man ever engaged in a duel without either a blind passion of revenge, or a foolish recklessness of life, or a hectorly disposition (all

very culpable moods;) or, a lively wish to get out of the *scrape* unhurt, or with as little bodily damage as possible. Where then is the *honour* or the genuine bravery of the enterprise?

The word *gentleman* may perhaps, admit of various definitions, but the right one we should presume to be this,—he, who while he observes the courtesies and wears the polish of decent life, abstains from all that is unjust, cruel, illegal, merely selfish, or of mischievous influence. In short, we doubt whether *reason* would allow the *gentleman* to be any other than a just and moral person, according to the general Christian standard, incapable of doing positive wrong but by mistake, ready to retract and apologize when thus mistaken; conscientiously scrupulous of risking his own life except for the good of others, and of shedding another's blood except in the cases which religion and law recognise as excusable.

A duel settles no good point of character—no question of right or wrong: it may avenge an injury and punish a crime, provided the real culprit or wrong-doer be killed or wounded; but the chances are equal, or too generally against, the aggrieved party. The innocent have fallen, at least as often as the guilty.

An Essay has been published to show that duelling conduces to the preservation of *good manners* in a community. Upon the same principle, good manners might be more effectually preserved if it were understood that whoever committed or was supposed to have committed a breach of them, would be forthwith shot through the head. Yet such a custom would be deemed a little savage and sanguinary. In many, or most cases, it is he who violates good manners that is the challenger in duels. Refined education and religious sentiment are the best safeguards in respect to decorum as well as essential probity.

GAMBLING.

“Gambling being a vice of such utter destruction through life, and also so frequently the cause of a shameful death itself, every approach towards it should be carefully guarded, and all its mazes, its windings and turnings be laid open and exposed to our utmost censure and detestation.”

Lotteries, Usury, Cards, Dice, Wagers, Stocks, are the most dangerous and common modes of Gambling, which is the desperate passion of barbarous, and the selfish vice of refined nations. The *Stocks* may be called the modern invention of man’s evil genius; and *agiotage* is, perhaps, now, the worst of the trials of hazard and spoliation.

Of late years, large additions and curious refinements have been liberally bestowed on the old English mysteries of stock jobbing, which Guthrie has disclosed in part in the following terms.

“The mystery of stock-jobbing consists in this. The persons concerned in the practice, who are called jobbers, make contracts to buy or sell at a certain time a certain quantity of some particular stock; against which time they endeavour according to their contract to raise or lower such stock, by raising rumours and spreading fictitious stories, in order to induce people either to sell out in a hurry and consequently cheaper, if they are to deliver stock; or to become unwilling to sell and consequently make it dearer, if they are to receive stock. The persons, who make these contracts, are not in general possessed of any real stock, but when the day agreed on comes, they only pay the difference between the price of stock at the time the contract was made and on that day; and thus of the allez, the buyer of imaginary stock is called the “bull” and the seller the “bear” and the man, who cannot pay his difference the “lame duck.” Besides these real stock proprietors and great monied men, who want to buy or sell, raise fictitious stories to vary the price of stocks, as best suits their own views.”

In Europe, it has become part of the business of the

higher classes, monarchs included; and of the mercantile world; in the United States, of late, in the cities, particularly, it has almost superseded every other, and absorbed multitudes of all professions and trades, who formerly were never seen nor expected, and themselves never thought of acting in the stock market.

Small tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks of all degrees, operatives of town and country, members of the learned professions, students in the offices, beginners in trade, without capital or with a little, all have frequented the exchanges and the auction grounds to try their fortunes as with the Lotteries. They have chased bubbles not less intensely than those who had leisure and money to spare. We scarcely need add that this diffusive excitement, subject as it is to rumours and various chances of the day or hour, is unfavourable to productive industry, to steady habits and sure aims, and to morals which are always more or less in danger when hazard whets appetite, governs actions and determines fate in a general whirl of spirits and thoughts.

A gambling spirit is apt to prove epidemic, and becomes violent in proportion to its spread. It seizes on men in all sorts of circumstances, diverting them from the regular pursuits and hopes of labour, and stimulating them to risks by which their minds are kept in extreme agitation, and all their means exposed to sudden and ruinous vicissitudes. The *Stock* gambling is so much the more mischievous, as it has not yet incurred the ignominy or disrepute which attends cards and dice. Disgrace serves as a general restraint, like other strong penal sanctions.

But when the true nature, calculations, artifices, and effects of the practice are investigated and followed out, it seems as culpable and pernicious as any other of the kind. The number of its victims, whether in the moral

or pecuniary sense, is proportioned to that of its partakers. It is an exterminating war of the spirit of cupidity and adventure between members of the same civilized and Christian community—a fierce variety of that manifold, selfish and ruthless preying upon each other which distinguishes modern civic life.

Eat or be eaten, says an Ichthyologist, seems the only law known to the inhabitants of the ocean; each individual, under the instinctive influence of that immutable ordinance, feeds luxuriously on its nearest neighbour, and at last, is preyed upon in its turn.

Something near this or worse, would seem, in our omnivorous age, to be the law of the *rational* species on land, especially in large communities.

There are many modes of *eating or being eaten*, without the agency of the teeth or throat;—mankind, after all, are the animals of prey, *par excellence*, whether by mutual spoliation and destruction or destructive war on every living creature.

It is not within our designs or bounds to give an exposition in detail of the varieties and consequences of any public evil. On this head of Stock-Gambling we may be content with quoting from a principal Journal of New York, particularly conversant with the case, the following brief editorial queries in answer to an apologist for the practice, who cited the modes of speculation in other *commodities*. These queries are, no doubt, applicable in our other principal cities.

“Has the speculation in flour, or other commodities, been carried to such excess as to become a species of every day gambling? Are the morals of the community withering beneath its baneful influence? Has the public press—that great safeguard of liberty—felt the corrupting efficacy of its pestilential breathing? Has it become the besetting sin of large classes of the community? Do our young men leave the sober pursuits of business, which yield them gradual but

certain wealth, for the deceptive glitter of brilliant but hazardous success, which so often lurcs the unwary to their destruction? Above all, has it as frequently been seized upon as the occasion for indulging in the most flagrant iniquity and the blackest turpitude?"

It is not to be denied that very strong, peculiar tendencies to *gambling* throughout its various forms, are found in the character, habits and general circumstances of the American people:—this is one of the excesses or extremes to which they must be prone by their native energy, their early self-dependence, their eager and universal strife for property, their love and habit of excitement; and which their general advantages in condition, opportunity, religious state and domestic morals do not sufficiently counteract. Temptation, impatient vivacity, custom, example, frequent success, the widest scope, number of objects, latitude of freedom in design and action, all betray them into the career of speculation and adventure without bounds. Our moralists and legislators on the sea-board have been roused by the abuses in the lotteries to exert all their power against that old scheme and prolific source of depravation and ruin. In the Western and Southern States, the profession and practice of play became so diffusive, common, profligate and baneful, the hordes of gamblers, black-legs and sharpers, multiplied so widely and fast, and were so formidably organized and affiliated; that they alarmed both governments and communities into the severest measures of repression. If *Lynch* law could be deemed excusable in any case, it would be when applied, as we have seen, to such "heroes of the pack and box," as infested Mississippi and Louisiana.

The occupation—perhaps final conquest—of Texas, and the favour and aid extended in most parts of the

Union to the enterprises of the new *Texians* or *Texonians*, are signal illustrations of the force of the national propensities to which we have referred.

Emigration, settlement, improvement, joint stock associations for public works and conveniences, as they have been and are generally prompted and prosecuted within our own territory, must be contradistinguished in their motives as in their results from all the *gambling* operations. The impulses are of an instinct and vigour just and beneficial—those of self-love combined with the spirit of manly independence and advancement—honourable wit and talent, and with social order and prosperity—the ends are direct, regular, within the sphere of morals and conducive to the best modifications and enjoyments of human existence.

In England, the gambling houses are familiarly called *hells*; and this name indicates the proper sense which is commonly entertained of their character. The Persians called a gambling house “a habitation of *corrupted carcasses*, or a *carrión* house.

The following epigram from the French, is a good inscription for a gaming house.

“Three ample doors this mansion hath,
Their names *hope, infamy* and *death*,
The first alone for entrance made,
The others are for those who 've played.”

The original :

INSCRIPTION POUR UNE MAISON DE JEU.

Il est trois portes a cet antre
L'espoir, l'infamie & la mort;
C'est par la premiere qu'on entre,
C'est par les deux autres qu'on sort.

Shakspeare's phrase, “make marriage vows false as dicer's oaths,” bespeaks the proverbial fraud and infamy

of the dicer's trade. Whatever is akin to it in spirit and effect, should share in the disrepute. In criminal codes, penalties are chosen, not merely according to the enormity of the offence, but to its prevalence and the public liability. In like manner and upon the same policy, should all public censors, all social as well as municipal authorities, be severe with regard to mal-practices, by whomsoever committed ;—against *all* gambling, however accredited. For persons of influence and character the duty of abstaining is also doubly imperative. Infectious disorder is never to be countenanced, shadowed nor spared.

It might be thought that the doctrine of total abstinence should be applied as well to cards, as spirituous liquors, upon the grounds of the danger of contracting an immoderate fondness for them, and the evil of example. That is often realized in the most respectable circles, and when cards are played, merely for amusement, in the parlour, they will be played in the kitchen for something more and to the neglect of duty. Whoever has frequented fashionable card parties, might have noted on all occasions, that whether the game was moderate or deep, the thirst of gain was excited, and a general mood produced far from congenial with the spirit of hospitality and mutual kindness, but rather like selfish disappointment or triumph. That social intercourse is, doubtless, the most refined and laudable generally, in which the liberal feelings and delicate charities prevail, and an impulse is given to natural benevolence and cultivated intellect instead of the anti-social passions and appetites.

Moore gives the following pleasant derivation :

“ As the supreme taste and elegance of mixed and large companies (and such alone are the delight of the present age) is to ‘ trifle

agreeably'—an emptiness and insipidity of conversation must necessarily take place ; which would also be speedily exhausted but for the aid of some amusement introduced to prevent a stagnation of intercourse. This grand desideratum is supplied by the spotted card, which has proved so delightful and inexhaustible a refuge from the wretchedness of ennui. Away then with all amiable (but useless) distinctions of head and heart ! the former is despoiled of its rational endowments, the latter of its humane affections. Neither wit, nor sense, nor improvement is thrown into the scale ; neither judgment, nor goodness, nor virtue, nor benevolence are any longer required but all is levelled without a thought bestowed on the wisdom or folly the private virtues or vices of our card-playing associates. To what purpose would it be to cultivate the art of agreeable or improving conversation, when the most pleasing talk, the most interesting scenes, the liveliest salices of pure and chaste wit, the most instructive intercourse with the man of travel, the liberal scholar, the polished gentleman, must be cut short in a moment at the appearance of the painted leaf. A suspension of the understanding takes place, and the indiscriminate use of cards may be deemed a stratagem of the ignorant and shallow to raise themselves on a level with the rational and wise. It discovers indeed a sad dearth of sense, a meagre famine in the land of rational ideas, when the mind can feed with avidity and for a length of time on such light and frothy diet.—Yet from the force of custom, a partial compliance with this species of amusement is scarce to be refused ; it is become almost necessary to be expert in such games, as are called in as auxiliaries against languor and insipidity ; and both innocent and agreeable is such a compliance, as long as due attention is paid to the quantity of time spent, and stake hazarded."

Such then is the rise of play in the fashionable circles. When in France, in 1808, we received impressions from the scenes of the lottery-drawings, and gambling-tables, which are yet vivid in our memory.

The gross produce of the public lotteries of France, was estimated at about twenty millions of francs. The receivers were entitled to five per cent. on what they collected,—which deduction, united to the expenses of

the establishment, left about twelve millions for the exchequer. The lottery offices were spread throughout all the cities of the empire, under the direction of the administrators and inspectors appointed by the government. The drawings took place twice a-week at Paris, and as often at Bourdeaux, Brussels, Lyons, and Strasbourg, as to afford one every other day. The principle of the lotteries, which it would be now both tedious and irrelevant to explain, was, as may be easily imagined, highly favourable to the government. It was the desire of Necker that those of the old régime should be abolished. He reprobates them in his work on the finances, as repugnant to all moral ideas; particularly when the profits accrue to the sovereign. Such, we think, should be the wish and feeling of every government studious of public morals.

The rapid destruction and creation of fortunes, the fate of the paper-currency, and the impoverishment of all classes, during the revolution, had given, in that country, tenfold activity to the spirit of gambling, which naturally belongs to a sanguine people. It may be truly said to have raged in the metropolis, and to have exhibited there, under the most disgusting and frightful aspect, all the miseries and disorders which usually follow in the train of licentious adventure and criminal indulgence. The tickets of the lottery passed from the hands of the factors, at a considerable advance, into those of the lower orders, whom the tumults of civil commotion and the absence of religious instruction, had estranged from the love and the habit of regular industry.—They circulated widely, also, among the class of abandoned profiliates,—of persons without employment, (*les gens desœuvrés*.)—and of decent but necessitous individuals, with whom Paris abounded beyond any other capitol in the world. We have heard it asserted by an intelligent per-

son engaged in the administration of the lotteries, that they occasioned in Paris more than one hundred suicides in the course of the year.

This may be an exaggerated estimate—but it will serve to illustrate the extent of the wretchedness and depravity to which they led. The numerous gambling-tables of the capitol—all of which were licensed, and some farmed out by the government—concurred in inflaming the thirst of irregular gain; in vitiating the morals and deranging the habits, of private life. We know not that any spectacle, among the varieties of vice and misery, which we had occasion to contemplate in Europe, struck us with more horror than the gambling orgies of the *Palais Royal*, where apartments of immense extent were, at all hours of the night, filled with persons of both sexes, indiscriminately engaged in games of the merest hazard, and exhibiting, by their gestures and physiognomy, all the keen anguish and the tumultuous agitation which the extremes of despair and elation can produce. Mixed with designing sharpers,—with spies of the police,—with famished mendicants and intemperate prostitutes, they formed altogether a group which might have served as a model to the pictures of Dante's Inferno, and than which nothing more disgusting is to be found in the delineations of the pencil or in the fictions of poetic fancy.

We have classed Usury with Gambling, because it has too often the same spirit, operation and consequence. It is not our intention to touch the old and vexed question, whether usury laws be not ineffectual and indeed impolitic in the main; we may admit that they are; but they have proceeded for the most part from a general sense of the enormity of the above wrong, and are founded upon social and moral principles which every man of strict

conscience and rectitude will scrupulously observe. *Shaving* is the technical term in our country, and the figure denotes strongly the character of the practice. Doubtless, many persons held reputable in every respect are engaged in it, but still it is accompanied with a certain feeling of shame, and begets a desire of concealment. Here, the modes of acquiring a comfortable livelihood, without the arts of extortion or oppression, in the fair, open, and liberal use of money, are so many, that it is less excusable, though it may not be less convenient, than in Europe. From time immemorial, in all the great nations, and particularly in the great commercial cities, Usury has been a scourge, which, at one time or other, the laws have proscribed, and moralists and divines have always signalized and reprobated.

It has flourished abroad by grinding or distressing the necessitous, exciting prodigality and encouraging ruinous anticipation. Its history is among the most odious records of cruelty and rapacity exerted against misfortune, improvidence or wild adventure. Nice honour and generous sentiment will not view it as a question of legislation or political economy alone, but as one of ethics and character. Where it is pursued against the law, it is doubly culpable;—and where not subject to legal penalties it should be discountenanced by public opinion. Whether in ancient or modern times, nothing called a business has been followed with more deserved denunciation and pestilent influence than that of *Shaving*. When this practice is not condemned by law, this is no argument in its favour, morally speaking. In several states of Europe, gambling houses and brothels are regularly licensed by government, but, to frequent them, is not, on that account, less degrading and reprehensible.

PAWBROKING, is a form of usury carried to the utmost height of exorbitance, of which the improvident or unfortunate of the poorer classes (generally the former) are ample prey. In what lights it should be seen and how far persons of public and benevolent spirit should exert themselves to regulate and restrain it, may be inferred from the following authentic statements and remarks recently published by Dr. Mease, and resting on official returns, for New York and Philadelphia.

“**PAWBROKERS.**—From the official returns, which are required by the law licensing pawnbrokers in New York to be made every week to the police magistrates, the following abstract has been prepared, showing the nature and extent of the business transacted by them during the year 1830.

“**Pawnbrokers**, before they can pursue the business, are under the necessity of procuring a license from the Mayor, and at the same time of giving surety in the sum of five hundred dollars, for the observance of the ordinances which have been passed for their regulation.

“In addition to pawnbrokers, there are several persons licensed for the purpose of selling second-hand articles, who are licensed in like manner, and compelled to give the like surety.

“The returns of the whole year, would have taken too much time to have waded through, and the Reporter has consequently simplified the mode of arriving at the result, by taking two months of the year, one a summer and the other a winter month, which it is believed will give an average nearly accurate for the whole year.

“From these data it appears that the number of pledges made to the various pawnbrokers in this city, being twelve in number, during the year ending the first of

January, 1831, amount to upwards of one hundred and eight thousand.

“ When to these are added the purchases made by second-hand dealers, the extent of which was ascertained in the same manner, and which amounted to 16,120, we find a total of 124,444.

“ These pledges, as they are returned, are frequently comprised of ten or a dozen, and sometimes twenty articles, according to the wants of the applicant. In looking carefully over the returns of several weeks, and selecting some of the articles which appeared to be the most prominent, the following schedule was made out, and it is believed, would approach very near the truth, were the examination extended throughout the year. This is by no means intended as embracing all the articles enumerated, but merely such of them as could be classified under the following heads :

Men's wearing apparel, 50648—Women's do., 69836—Silver spoons, 18720—Sheets and blankets, 9880—Silver watches, 9528—Quilts and counterpanes, 6084—Rings (finger), 4212—Broaches and pins, 4160—Ear-rings (pairs), 2600—Seals and keys, 2340—Gold watches, 2184—Books, 1768—Gold chains, 1404—Musical instruments, 1444—Bracelets and necklaces, 676—Miniatures, 572—Thimbles, 156—Bibles, 104. •

“ It is impossible to estimate what amount of money would afford a fair average to each pledge, taking the smaller with the larger. It is variously conjectured at from two to five dollars. Taking the smaller sum, we have the enormous sum of \$200,000 loaned out among the poorer classes of the community, at an annual interest of upwards of \$50,000. This sum of course is divided among those engaged in business, in proportion to the extent of it which they respectively carry on, and this pursuit may therefore be fairly said to be one of the

most profitable which exist in our city. It is said that the profit resulting from the sale of unredeemed pledges, forms no important item in addition to the regular profit of 25 per cent. interest, and may be fairly estimated at about ten per cent. upon the amount loaned. This gives them therefore about thirty-five per cent. on the capital investment.

“The amount of property left in pledge with twelve pawnbrokers in New York, during the year ending January, 1831, was \$108,000. Among the articles pledged were no less than 120,000 garments, and 16,000 sheets, blankets and counterpanes.

“It is notorious, that some pawnbrokers are in the practice of making advances upon shop goods, and other articles brought to them by persons justly liable to suspicion of their honesty, without instituting any inquiry respecting their legal right to the pledges they deposit. A few years since, an eminent jeweller and silversmith in Philadelphia, was robbed by his foreman of a quantity of valuable articles, and it was ascertained that a pawnbroker, with the handbill in his possession describing the articles stolen, had loaned large sums of money upon them to the thief. This is one of many cases that could be mentioned. It will be seen by reference to the publication by the present grand jury, that the evils of private pawnbrokers have claimed their attention. The losses which such an institution would prevent must be considerable.”

The following is taken from the New York Advocate of January, 1828.—In one week, ending the 29th of December, 3489 articles* were deposited, and the Editor observes, “taking the above account as a criterion for the year, and we are informed that it is about a fair average, we have upwards of one hundred and eighty

thousand pledges, and taking the sum of three dollars as the average sum advanced upon each deposit, we shall have the sum of five hundred and forty thousand annually advanced in small sums, yielding an interest, to the persons taking the pledges, of twenty-five per cent., or one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars."— "This," says a writer in a Philadelphia paper, "is a startling amount, sufficient to rouse every friend to humanity, or political economist, and to make a deep impression. I wished to obtain the amount of sales in one year at a single store in Philadelphia of unredeemed pledges, to use on the present occasion, but the auctioneer declined to furnish it. Even the number of specific articles could not be obtained, for pawnbrokers are not obliged to make any return of them in Philadelphia. An estimate, however, may be formed, on this subject, by attending to the advertisements of unredeemed pledges, which almost weekly appear in the newspapers: these often amount to 700 at one sale.

"It may be said, that the abuses arising from the licensed pawnbrokers, can be obviated by legal provisions. This could be deemed well founded by those only, who are unacquainted with the subject, and with the history

* Articles of Women's dress	945
Ditto. Men's dress	825
Clock, time-pieces and watches	240
Gold watches	45
Silver table and tea-spoons	235
Ear and finger-rings, chains and broaches	224
Bibles	9
Other articles, not enumerated above	966
 Total	 3499

of similar institutions in Europe. No human provisions are adequate to the prevention of extortion, or the other evils connected with private pawnbrokers. Detections may occasionally take place and penalties be suffered, but the offences will be repeated by the same person or by others, and under circumstances entirely beyond the extent of vigilance of the most active officer. Even in France, where the strictness of the police is carried to an extent of which the majority of the people of the United States are entirely unacquainted, all attempts to prevent abuses were found inadequate; for we are told by Mr. Necker, "that in proportion as the administration became more vigilant, the usurers increased their precautions to conceal their criminal traffic under forms to appearance legal." The institution of "the Mount of Piety" was therefore determined upon, in the year 1777, during the administration of that excellent Minister, and has continued to the present day. In other parts of Europe they had been previously established for a great length of time. It appears that they originated in Sicily, upwards of three hundred years since, and that they derived their name of "Mounts of Piety" from Pope Leo X., no doubt from learning their extensive utility. They were also established in Malta, as early as the year 1598, and Blaquiere in his "Letters from the Mediterranean," dwells upon the extensive and beneficial effects derived from them. It is well known that they also are in most of the cities and large towns on the continent of Europe."

THE NAVAL SERVICE.

THE increase of the pay of the officers of our navy, which has been at length determined by Congress, must rejoice every friend of justice and his country. They are placed in such situations both abroad and at home, as to be compelled by their station and for the national credit, to expend more than they receive.—The alternative for them was to exhaust their purses and even contract debts, or suffer the keenest personal and professional mortification. The commanders particularly, in the navies of all the other principal maritime powers, have salaries much larger, without being exposed to greater expenditure. It is expected by Americans that the American character should lose nothing, in any kind of estimation, by the appearance, modes of living and general display of our naval officers, on foreign stations: and in our own ports and at their dwellings, they must preserve an appearance suitable to the refinement of their feelings and habits, and to their public rank and social intercourse.

Nevertheless, these gallant men—who are wholly devoted to the public service, who waste none of the time and labour belonging to the nation, in electioneering or jobs—were so stinted in their stipends that they could lay up nothing for their families; had scarcely any other resource as a posthumous provision, than a life-insurance which forms a large discount on their income; and were subjected throughout life to severe economical solicitudes. In case of a war with any of the nations, it is to them chiefly that the United States must look for service and honour performed and won through manifold perils, and by an exertion of admirable skill, as well as intrepidity.

Congress then has been, if not generous or munificent, at least equitable and politic ;—it was incumbent upon us to send such champions forth, satisfied and animated with substantial proofs of our sense of their due and desert—convinced that we appreciate as we ought the value of their noble functions, and the efficiency of their peculiar achievements.

Some time ago a plan of a naval peace establishment was urged, by which the number of officers would be reduced—that is, upwards of a hundred eliminated or discarded. This, on the contrary, struck us as an objectionable feature of the plan, and is seen in this light, so strongly, by some of the higher officers who would certainly be retained and promoted, that they would cheerfully renounce their own advancement rather than that the evil should occur. In forming a peace-establishment, *war* is still the end—a proper preparation for actual and sudden hostilities. According to this view of the case, there may be no supernumeraries ; and we apprehend that, in fact, there are none in our naval establishment. We do not include in our calculation those who are unworthy of the service ;—they are already, or may be put, in the power of the President.

To turn off or cut adrift men or youth who have devoted themselves to the naval profession at great cost and labour, and who have thus rendered themselves comparatively unfit for other pursuits, would be extreme rigour ; and the bare possibility of this fate would deter individuals who might reflect most honour on the national flag, from embarking in a career doubly precarious. Generous ambition, tried skill, professional zeal and pride, would be miserably disappointed and sacrificed. Judging by what we have heard from commanders, the apprenticeship of a midshipman, for example, is the severest of probation.

Maritime life, moreover, has a particular tendency to form a character peculiarly or exclusively for itself;—and the merchant-ship is not the scene in which the feelings, the aspirations, the habits of the public officer can afterwards be satisfied or preserved. He would repair, in preference, to some foreign service, turning constantly an eye of sorrow and a heart of reproach upon the callousness or the improvidence of his own government, which has left him no alternative but exile. About him who resigns his post in our navy, or him who sullies his uniform by misconduct and is justly dismissed, we have nothing to say; but we should eagerly plead and remonstrate against the elimination of any one of sound repute and competent talent, already dedicated and trained, and willing to persevere under the star-spangled banner.

Death or other mortal cause has, annually, made dreadful havoc in the number of our naval officers. The ranks have been dismally, piteously thinned, even in time of peace. If we remember right, the Register for 1828 exhibits a loss of seventy-eight or more for that year—a reduction great enough upon any consideration. Some of the naval stations may be styled *homicide*; the flower of tender youth withers and scatters, the vigour of hardy manhood relaxes and dissolves, under the pestilent climate; the sailor is not, here, merely the

“Poor child of danger, nursing of the storm”—

with the ordinary toils and exposure to shatter his manly frame,—with rocks, winds and waves to combat,—but finds extreme peril or inevitable destruction in the air that he breathes,—in the rays of the sun to which he must be subjected,—on the tainted shore where “the grim and grisly fiend” reigns and strikes invisible amid foul exhalations. The obituary list admonishes our government to be frugal of those even who might now be

termed "drones" or excrescents;—the case of the Hornet, at once ingulphed, devoured, with all her gallant souls, is a cogent and melancholy lesson upon which we need not dwell. Let allowance be made for the devastation of accident and fever, and proper naval schools be established, and there will be no or few supernumeraries.

The United States have just been on the verge of a war with the second maritime nation of the world. It was an unexpected danger, and so multifarious and widely extended are our foreign relations, and so sudden and violent the vicissitudes of human affairs, that it may recur, not less abruptly than on the recent occasion. To be upon her guard, according to the plainest dictates of state prudence, our country must maintain and rely upon her Navy as her first and main defence—a defence which gives most efficacious honour, equally with comparative security.

Even in the hypothesis—which cannot be reasonably entertained at any time, and particularly under the present circumstances of the world—that peace can be indefinitely and always wisely and creditably preserved, that *Astrea* is to return from the skies to be the tutelary goddess of our republic, nevertheless our commerce being spread over the surface of the globe, and having important interests in every port, must continue to need the countenance at least, if not often the direct aid, of a naval force, watchful for its protection. The naval, is that display of power every where, which has the most imposing effect; which checks hostile, predatory or arrogant dispositions in foreign nations: ships of war are the most convenient, efficient and economical agents of communication with distant points and communities for public purposes. The character which naval service and discipline of the best kind form directly or indirectly in considerable numbers of

a people is an excellent ingredient in the character of the whole.

But we need not follow out the various and important uses of an adequate and well constituted Navy, nor attempt to show circumstantially how desirable in every respect such a one is in the present condition, habits, and relations of mankind. This object would be cheaply purchased, nay purchased with incalculable profit, in any season of tranquillity, however profound or seemingly secure, even at a much larger cost, than has ever been bestowed upon it from our national treasury. To consummate this system, our government has now only to establish naval schools akin to the noble West Point Academy, according to the recommendations which have been frequently made to Congress by the Executive branch. A naval force specially suits our Union in the several positions of its parts, their respective pursuits and habits, their mutual interests and feelings. The Republic has nothing to fear from it, but everything to hope. Every calculation political or commercial, every consideration of salutary pride, excitement and influence, argue in its favour. No great nation has been lastingly dominant and prosperous without its aid; and with it, small territories have acquired immense wealth, and compassed vast empire. A man-of-war, or rather a guardian of peace, such as the huge ship Pennsylvania now in the Navy Yard of Philadelphia, is, when put into full trim and action by professional skill and science, the most wonderful and admirable offspring of human enterprise, invention and dexterity. The present Navy of the United States is a nucleus, nearly perfect, of maritime strength and glory, capable of being rendered equal to what England has accumulated, that is, to the highest which

has ever been achieved. Its exploits have conclusively proved, that in all essential qualities, it cannot be surpassed.

SHIPWRECK.

LOST AT SEA.

THOMAS LYNCH, Jr. of South Carolina, July 1775, repaired to Philadelphia, to occupy, by the unanimous vote of the provincial assembly, the seat in Congress which his father had been compelled to resign in consequence of an illness of which he died at Annapolis, in the arms of his son, in the autumn of 1776. The latter was only twenty-eight years of age, but consumption of the lungs incapacitated him for a principal part in Congress; he voted, however, for every bold measure; and one of the last acts of his political life was to sign the Declaration of Independence. No longer able to serve the nation, he returned home, and was there persuaded to try change of climate for the preservation of an existence which appeared to be rapidly approaching its term. He embarked accordingly, with his wife, a pattern of conjugal piety, in a ship bound for St. Eustatia;—the vessel was never heard of more;—the belief remains that she foundered at sea, in a mighty tempest, a few days after she left the port of Charleston.

This catastrophe is not extremely rare, but it cruelly smites the imagination and the heart. It begets images of piteous woe, the more dread and afflictive as they are undefined and mysterious. The baffled hopes, the mental agonies, the physical torments, of the victims; the duration and fury of the storm; the horrors of its progressive effects and final triumph over the ill-fated ship—may be

all conceived without bounds of misery and terror, according to the powers of fancy and sensibility which they bring into exercise. Thomas Lynch was not only what we have thus far represented him, but one of the fondest of husbands, the mildest of masters, the most amiable of companions, the most enthusiastic of literary votaries. Such a man may be pictured in his last stage of bodily decline, with such concussions and pangs as the danger and motion of the plunging or whirling vessel, and the silent or plaintive, affectionate despair of his beloved wife and martyr, and all the confusion and gloom of the struggle, would necessarily produce, while they sank, or were hurled together and without the possibility of rescue, into the "midnight surge." Death can have no more hideous concomitants than might be here assumed as probable; and the long uncertainty of anxious relatives and friends, affording scope for alternations of delusive hope and the worst of circumstantial conjecture, is an inevitable incident scarcely less dismal than any of the real or supposititious train. "We know that they are dead, and that is all we know;" but this very ignorance of the particulars, as it leaves the widest range to generous compassion and busy grief, is an unlimited aggravation of that melancholy knowledge.

CAST AWAY.

Much poetical talent was exerted respecting the loss of the packet ship Albion, from New York to Liverpool, which was stranded in 1822, with circumstances fit to be recorded as particularly melancholy and awful.

We were not surprised that it excited the votaries of the muse, and continued to attract the strong sympathy of the public. As the particulars of the catastrophe were

disclosed, it assumed a more harrowing and piteous character, and seemed to require but to be described in simple language, to raise all the emotion which is usually sought to be produced by highly wrought and eloquent pictures of poetical fancy. According to the accounts, the greater part of the voyage was prosperous and pleasant; the numerous passengers were thus rendered the more secure and their spirits the more buoyant.—In the midst of their reliance, as they approached the haven which they felt certain of reaching, a tremendous storm arose and soon dashed their confidence, though it did not, probably, reverse the tone of their minds—the vessel laboured, shipped a heavy sea, and was thrown on her beam ends, the mainmast going by the board—then an agony of terror and a paroxysm of despair. We may imagine the situation of the tenants of the cabin—the females with their husbands and children—when they experienced the concussion, and felt the water rushing in upon them; and after recovering from the shock, when they found that they had lost one of their number, that most of them were severely injured, that five of the seamen had disappeared, and that the implements were gone which were necessary to enable the Captain to disencumber his deck, and manage his shattered vessel. Then, the drifting of the unmanageable hull in shore, until midnight; the storm raging with unabated fury, in the midst of the darkness—a night truly of unutterable horrors. At the dawning of the day, instead of even a momentary relief, fresh and more intense despair—a clearer manifestation of the extreme danger—the surf near, with cliffs of one hundred and fifty feet almost perpendicular—the voice of the Captain, a man of the stoutest heart and utmost skill, heard proclaiming that all was lost; that no hope was left—the immediate striking and disruption of the vessel

on the pointed rocks—the crowd of spectators upon the cliffs, unable to afford succour, but witnessing the extended arms, the imploring, frantic gestures, the streaming locks, of the females on the wreck, and almost hearing their shrieks and lamentation in the roar of the tempest and the surge. The whole scene must be present to every imagination; and the reflection cannot fail to occur as an aggravation of its wretchedness, that most of the cabin and steerage passengers were, no doubt, persons of delicate and refined habits, of extensive connexions, and otherwise so circumstanced as to cherish the fondest hope of future enjoyment and welfare in life.

The Americans on board demanded and have received, the first and largest tribute of compassion and regret from their countrymen: but our attention is particularly fixed upon the memory of the stranger, whose name is one of greater note than that of any of his fellow sufferers; we mean General Lefèvre Desnouettes. During a long series of years, he had braved death in the field, fighting in the most gallant manner, and escaped, to perish at last in this catastrophe, when his mind was, perhaps, less than at any other period of his life, reconciled to the stroke of fate. His situation was every way peculiar. It is well known that he had been one of the favourite and most distinguished of Napoleon's military comrades—that he took part in the combination against Louis XVIII. on the landing of his old commander from the Island of Elba; joined the latter with headlong enthusiasm, in his last campaign, and being finally proscribed by the royal government, took refuge as an exile in the United States. Here, his misfortunes, reputation, intelligence and manly, unexceptionable deportment, rendered him an object of general esteem and attention. To escape, as he used to remark, pity and curiosity, to counteract

memory, and to gratify the natural activity of his mind, he retired to the French grant in Alabama, where he laboured in the fields under a burning sun, with a reckless exertion which proved very injurious to his health and strength. His wife, an amiable and accomplished woman, remained behind in France to watch over his interests there. He himself, after having begun his agricultural toil, never quitted it until his final departure, except to visit Washington on business connected with his affairs as a planter. Fatigue and chagrin created at length in his mind, an insupportable disgust with his situation, and he resolved at all hazards to return to his native country. He addressed a petition to Louis XVIII. praying to be allowed to go back to be tried, and to die if his judges so decided, and declaring that he did not mean to attempt a defence before any tribunal. The strain of his very brief petition, was such as became the elevated spirit of an honest soldier, incapable of an abject or a whining supplication. He claimed, as a respectful subject, to be suffered to re-enter his country and embrace his family, leaving his ulterior fate to the justice of the king. The French ambassador at Washington, Mr. Hyde de Neuville, not only forwarded his application to the ministry at Paris, but seconded it in two letters of his own, one addressed to them, and another directly to the king, in which he urged in the strongest terms, the general merits of the exile, and bore testimony to the propriety of his deportation in the United States. The warm and liberal representations of Mr. de Neuville, and the instances of the General's wife at Paris, prevailed with the government so far that it invited him to proceed to the Netherlands, there to await a speedy compliance with all his wishes, and instructed the minister of France in that country, to give him the kindest welcome and the fullest

protection. He availed himself as soon as possible of this indulgence, and was on his way to Holland by Liverpool, confident of soon being indemnified for all the sufferings of his exile, in a tranquil existence in the bosom of his country and family, when he found a watery grave on the Irish coast. We have entered into these details concerning him, not only to explain his situation and render his loss more impressive, but to awaken those feelings in favour of the conduct of M. de Neuville and the French ministry, towards him, to which it is entitled. We know that he expressed the liveliest sentiments of gratitude for their prompt and delicate generosity, and gave, spontaneously, the most solemn assurance of never again meddling with politics. The French ambassador deserved in fact all credit for the aid of every kind which he has extended to several of those exiles, whom many among us, ignorant of his real character and proceedings, may believe him to have been rather disposed to persecute and oppress. He manifested a keen sensibility to their personal welfare, and in more instances than that of General Lefèvre Desnouettes, contributed with similar earnestness to their restoration to their country.

One of the sufferers, Mr. Fisher, of Yale College, Connecticut, was conspicuous for his proficiency in mathematical studies—another, Mr. Ross, was a respectable lawyer of Troy, New York—another, Mr. Clark of Albany, a young gentleman of fortune, had married a lady on the Rhine, who shared his fate in the Albion. Several of the passengers were natives of the city of New York.

Among the bodies washed ashore was that of a French lady ; when first discovered by some respectable persons, it was entirely naked. It was mentioned to us as a fact, which we think ought to be related, that a country boy, who saw the body, took off his outside coat and

covered it; and it is related of others of the country people, that they also took off their warm clothing and put them on the unfortunate and half perished part of the crew that escaped. While there are so many to censure and condemn their crimes, let them, at least, have justice rendered to their good qualities.

What a harrowing picture, that of the exposition of the corpse of the beautiful female, thrown on the beach! How utterly incredible would have appeared to her the prediction of such a fate, a few days before, when we may suppose her to have been full of life and hope, and buoyant with the assurance of shortly reaching the port of destination!

“The scene of death is closed! the mournful strains
Dissolve in dying languor on the ear;
Yet Pity weeps, yet Sympathy complains,
And dumb Suspense awaits o'erwhelm'd with fear.”

These are lines of Falconer, and whoever wishes to see as it were more distinctly, and feel more intensely, the catastrophe of the Albion, should read the description of the *Shipwreck* in his poem of that name. There is a striking coincidence in the particulars.

We annex an extract from the letter of Mr. Everhart, the only survivor of the Albion, dated Cork county, Ireland, April 22d, 1822.

“I embrace the first opportunity of letting you know of the total loss of the ship Albion, on the coast of Ireland, about one mile from this, yesterday morning at 4 o'clock; she was driven on a rocky shore, and was soon beat to pieces by the waves. The ship's crew consisted of 25—the steerage passengers 6—the cabin passengers 23—making 54 in all. Of the ship's crew there were drowned or lost 19—of the steerage passengers 5—of the cabin passengers 22. Eight only were saved. Amongst the drowned were the captain and second mate. The place where the vessel was wrecked, was a high and

perpendicular rock. I however got on the edge of one of them, and remained there about three hours, the waves beating over me; there was on the rock, at the same time, five or six others, who I believe, all perished."

WASHINGTON IRVING.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS.—It is not the warrior, the mere orator, and the mere statesman, who alone, respectively, exalt the reputation and promote the welfare of their country. Talents and culture, dispositions and performances, such as those of Washington Irving, earn national *crédit* and conciliate foreign regard in a degree not less salutary—with an operation not less durable and diffusive. Literature is a field of honour to which the most civilized nations look with the proudest and eagerest emulation. When their champions in it brilliantly succeed, a radiance is reflected, which they fondly and gratefully appreciate. In this view Washington Irving is the principal benefactor, and should be the cherished favourite of us all;—he has won trophies where our republic possessed scarcely any literary fame; where, indeed, the doubt had been often expressed and too generally entertained, whether the proper faculties had not been denied our rude generation. We need not dwell on the direct pleasure which the beautiful works of Mr. Irving have ministered to the reading public of these States. They are imbued with that “fine extract of soul,” that “pure essence” which descends to all ages, while the grosser parts of a nation’s acquirements, the material possessions, must pass away and be lost in the course of time.

His OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT.—The appointment of Washington Irving as Secretary of Legation at London, seems to give universal satisfaction. It must be of real import-

ance in the estimation of those, who know the extraordinary influence and facilities, which a brilliant literary reputation procures for the possessor, in all the European capitals. The distinguished man of letters is sought for in every circle, holds rank in every elevated sphere, and forms the most efficacious intimacies. Our system of representation abroad will be considerably more advantageous and honoured, when young men shall be connected with it, capable of ingratiating themselves with the literary and political coteries, by their studies, talents, and tastes, in connexion with literature, science, and the fine arts. Intellectual or literary power and refinement, have now, in Europe, a vogue and ascendancy greater than they ever before enjoyed in any age or country. Sir Walter Scott is the only peer of Duke Wellington among the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as Goëthe rivals Prince Metternich in Germany, and Chateaubriand is the most prominent and the strongest of the French courtiers and statesmen.

The King of Prussia is an absolute monarch; the Prussians are "almost idolaters of Royalty;" yet, though the King earnestly desired and more than once resolved to remove Schleiermacher from his chair in the University of Berlin, he finally could not venture. "The popularity of this scholar and professor was such," observes a late traveller, "both in the City and the University, as well as with most men of thought throughout Germany, that, in fact, even Frederick William 'did not dare' take such a step. The loyal Prussians said—'he dares not.'"

His RETURN HOME.—Washington Irving has arrived at New York, after a long absence from his native country, during which he has rendered it constant and rare service by the great and brilliant enhancement of his literary fame, the solid value as well as peculiar charm of his

works, and the uniform excellence of his private life and character. The American name has gained doubly through the author and the man, as the Scottish has been brightened with twofold honour by Sir Walter Scott. There is no reproach which ought to be deemed more painful to both parties, than that which the spirit of patriotism is obliged to cast upon an author of genius and renown, whose personal history is discreditable, or who has published what tends to vitiate morals and taste.

His CHIEF WORK.—The German Prince Muskau observes in his travels—“ We are greatly indebted to the distinguished American, Washington Irving, for his *Life of Columbus*. It is a beautiful tribute to the great navigator, brought from the land which he gave to the civilized world, and which appears destined to be the last station traversed by the cycle of human perfectibility.” The *Life of Columbus* alone, in fact, would place its author among the first writers of his time. It is a lasting and superior performance. The abridgment of it, too, made by himself, is excellent, and if it has not been, should be adopted as a manual in all American schools. Undeniably, Washington Irving has done more than any other cotemporary American to diffuse the literary reputation of his country abroad. He is now all our own;—let him be honoured and cherished accordingly.

His PERSONAL AFFAIRS.—Washington Irving has become, by his admirable works and personal deserts, an object of special and most kindly concern for all his countrymen. Who did not feel regret and sympathy in learning from his introduction to the Tour in the Prairies that he had experienced misfortune and suffered *injustice*? When abroad, he was always to be regarded as would have been a navigator, explorer, or warrior,

employed on a distant expedition, in gathering treasure and laurels to enrich, delight, and exalt his native land.

His Life of Columbus, and his narratives of the enterprises of other Spanish discoverers,—the fruits of his long sojourn in Spain,—are trophies, and, in other respects, precious offerings for his country.

Every American, who, as such, wins honour by authorship, or any kind of superior performance, abroad, acts the part of a true patriot; and so far from jealously reproaching him for absence, we should all rejoice that he has ventured upon the foreign field, and bravely entered the lists as a champion whose success must redound brilliantly to our common advantage. If the United States possessed hundreds of writers gifted and capable as the author of the Sketch Book, it would be sound policy to send them, every one, to Europe, there to inquire, study, and publish as he did, even if they never returned; but still more expedient in the hypothesis that they would return as he has done, to make the rest of their lives a harvest home of their increased literary fame and power. We have heard that it was highly inconvenient and disadvantageous in some respects, for him, to fill the post of Secretary of Legation in London, but his American feelings forced him to accept it, as it gave him the character of a direct servant and representative of his own Republic. He has proved, by his literary labours, that an American can write as well on his own soil as on the other side of the Atlantic.

IMITATION.—The eclat and profit which have attended the Waverley Novels; the beautiful Sketches and other similar works of Washington Irving; and the manifold success of the novels of Cooper, Miss Sedgwick, Simms, Bird, and Kennedy, have, we fear, excited the ambition of

our literary youth and perhaps of many of our writing generation of mature age, of both sexes, in a direction which is not the best in itself nor the most desirable for the country. The more elevated and valuable branches of literature—history, and political and moral science generally, and even poetry,—are likely to be neglected for the composition of romances and sentimental or humorous essays, in which so few can ever excel, compared with the number who might, by study, research, and patient labour, enrich us with instructive disquisitions and books of solid and lasting utility. A good history of Pennsylvania, New York, New England, the United States; an able philosophical exposition of our republican system; a well digested, comprehensive, eloquent account of the Aborigines of North America, in the details of their character and customs and their progress from their early to their present condition; a critical, or erudite dissertation which should be admired abroad, and could be justly emblazoned at home as a fine specimen of acumen or learning;—productions of this kind, and others that might be mentioned, we should hail with more pride and satisfaction, than prose fictions and fancy themes, however ingenious and amusing, or elegantly and elaborately wrought; and it is towards them that the aspirations and efforts of the American literati should be pointed in preference.

We do not undervalue the performances of Sir Walter Scott—they combine in a degree the merits of history and ethics; and they are, altogether, noble trophies of genius; but we rate higher those of Robertson, Hume, Smith, Ferguson, Stewart, &c. Moreover, such a novelist as Sir Walter, is indeed, a *rara avis*, and the materials with which he operates are in a manner unique and exclusive. One like him, possessing equivalent or similar

advantages, might not appear here, or in any other country, in the lapse of centuries. Some clever imitators may and will—the United States can already boast of instances in the author of the *Spy*, *Pioneers*, *Pilot*, Mr. Paulding, and some others, still Scott is likely to be resembled or equalled only in certain respects—in particular powers—not throughout and in the splendour and efficiency of his whole authorship. For a single good or great work of his school or any other in the same department, we shall have many merely above or below the line of mediocrity, or of all the inferior degrees down to the lowest and most contemptible. These involve a miserable waste of time in the writers and readers; the trash they supply to the public appetite excludes refined and nutritive food which, without them, might be sought much more widely: they yield nothing but a momentary and paltry gratification; whereas, even the humblest and weakest labourers in the fields of real knowledge rarely fail, when they wield the pen, to furnish something immediately or ultimately beneficial. They contribute to the general illumination of the people and minister to those who, by their superior attainments and talents, their skilful toils and happy discoveries, give durable national fame and shed perpetual light.

GRATTAN AND CURRAN.

GRATTAN is remembered and emblazoned by Sir Jonah Barrington, in his *Memoirs of His Own Times*. That was, to our apprehension, the Irish orator and patriot *par excellence*; superior to Curran, in vigour and scope of intellect; in dignity and energy of eloquence; in variety and refinement of knowledge; and far above

him, in the true spirit and deportment of a gentleman. His public virtue was pure, lofty, and delicate; his private morality, unremitting, amiable and diffusive. Sir Jonah remarks, "Most great men have their individual points of superiority; and I am sure that Sheridan could not have preached, nor Kirwan have pleaded. Curran could have done both—Grattan neither; but, in language calculated to rouse a nation, Grattan, whilst young, far exceeded either of them." This doctrine is gratuitous and artificial: he who was able to rouse a nation, could have swayed a congregation, a court, or a jury; his faculties of exhortation and persuasion, his ethical maxims, his cogent and brilliant dialectics, might have been as successfully employed at the bar and in the pulpit, as in any deliberative assembly.

We would not be understood to disparage the talents and performances of Curran. We are well acquainted with his speeches and biography. He was one of the most brilliant rhetoricians of his time; gifted, too, with a keen wit and rich humour: but Grattan possessed an elevation and breadth of mind and character and a strength of moral tone in spirit and life, which the warmest admirers of Curran have never ventured to claim for their favourite. Grattan was a high statesman and patriot, and a primary debater; who filled a large space in the eyes of the British public, as well of those of his own Island.

Grattan's views, performances, and position in the Irish and British parliaments were beyond Curran's scope of faculties, *east* of character, and field of studies.

Several of the Irish Statesman's principal efforts on Catholic Emancipation and general politics, respectively, were of the first order for a deliberative assembly, in relation to the duties and interests of the British Empire

and those of Europe. His speech in the British House of Commons on French Affairs, May 25, 1815, may be cited as a fine specimen of his peculiar oratory, and as a most instructive commentary on a great crisis in history.

In 1803, Sir Jonah presented himself, in Dublin, as a candidate for a seat in the British Parliament. Grattan seconded his pretensions; and our author connects with his narrative of the contest, the following anecdote of his illustrious supporter:—

“Colonel Burr, who had been Vice-President of America, and probably would have been the next President, but for his unfortunate duel with General Hamilton, came over to England, and was made known to me by Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, (with whom I was very intimate). He requested I would introduce him to Mr. Grattan, whom he was excessively anxious to see. Colonel Burr was not a man of a very prepossessing appearance,—rough-featured, and neither dressy nor polished; but a well-informed, sensible man; and though not a particularly agreeable,—yet an instructive companion.

“People in general form extravagant anticipations regarding eminent persons. The idea of a great orator and Irish chief carried with it, naturally enough, corresponding notions of physical elegance, vigour, and dignity. Such was Colonel Burr’s mistake, I believe, about Mr. Grattan, and I took care not to undeceive him.

“We went to my friend’s house, who was to leave London next day. I announced that Colonel Burr, (from America,) Mr. Randolph and myself, wished to pay our respects, and the servant informed us that his master would receive us in a short time, but was at that moment much occupied on business of consequence. Burr’s expectations were all on the alert! Randolph also was anxious to be presented to the great Grattan, and both impatient for the entrance of this Demosthenes. At length, the door opened, and in hopped a small bent figure,—meagre, yellow, and ordinary; one slipper and one shoe; his breeches’ knees loose; his cravat hanging down; his shirt and coat-sleeves tucked up high, and an old hat upon his head.

“This apparition saluted the strangers very courteously:—asked (without any introduction) how long they had been in England, and immediately proceeded to make inquiries about the late General Washington and the revolutionary war. My companions looked at

each other :—their replies were costive, and they seemed quite impatient to see Mr. Grattan. I could scarcely contain myself; but determined to let my eccentric countryman take his course; who appeared quite delighted to see his visitors, and was the most inquisitive person in the world. Randolph was far the tallest and most dignified-looking man of the two, gray-haired and well-dressed: Grattan, therefore, of course, took him for the Vice-President, and addressed him accordingly. Randolph at length begged to know if they could shortly have the honour of seeing Mr. Grattan. Upon which, our host, (not doubting but they knew him,) conceived it must be his son James for whom they inquired, and said, he believed he had that moment wandered out somewhere, to amuse himself.

“ This completely disconcerted the Americans, and they were about to make their bow and their exit, when I thought it high time to explain; and, taking Colonel Burr and Mr. Randolph respectively by the hand, introduced them to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

“ I never saw people stare so, or so much embarrassed! Grattan himself now perceiving the cause, heartily joined in my merriment; —he pulled down his shirt-sleeves, pulled up his stockings; and, in his own irresistible way, apologized for the *outré* figure he cut, assuring them he had totally overlooked it, in his anxiety not to keep them waiting; that he was returning to Ireland next morning, and had been busily packing up his books and papers in a closet full of dust and cobwebs! This incident rendered the interview more interesting: the Americans were charmed with their reception; and, after a protracted visit, retired highly gratified, whilst Grattan returned again to his books and cobwebs.”

It must not be inferred from this story, that Grattan was *ordinary*, in the sense in which the term is employed by our author. His stature was low, but his head altogether remarkable and imposing. Whatever his dishabille may have been on this occasion, he generally, in London at least, dressed sufficiently well, according to the fashion of the day. We had the good fortune, in the same year, several times, to be in the company of the Irish Demosthenes. His manners were polished and benign; he seemed to love the topic of the United States, and spoke with the utmost respect of our institutions.

Whenever he dwelt upon any advantage of liberty, independence, and domestic condition, belonging to a foreign country, it was with a dash of melancholy which referred to his own, that sensibly heightened the interest and reverence inspired by his genius and reputation. The presence and excesses of the British soldiery in Ireland, and the wars and usurpations of Napoleon, had strongly affected his imagination, with regard to military power and array. We could not readily forget the solemnity of his congratulations, after he was told, in answer to one of his inquiries, that but very few regular troops were ever seen in the United States. We happened to visit Ireland in the same summer that he delivered his famous speech, in the British House of Commons, in favour of the ministerial measure of the "Irish Insurrection Bill." Not only was his popularity impaired among his countrymen by this concurrence, but a degree of indignation was expressed against him, which filled us with surprise and sorrow; for, that very speech evidently proceeded from an engrossing, controlling love of country, such as has ennnobled the conduct of very few statesmen in any age or nation. The nature of the bill naturally exasperated his irascible and suffering countrymen; in the first commotion of feeling they were ready to accuse its abettor of having foolishly or treacherously abandoned their cause. They toasted *Sheridan*, in contradistinction to the recreant Grattan—an injustice which has been repaired by the estimate which they now make of his intentions and services. The influence of his former elevation and course, was perceptible in the British House of Commons, in the circumstance which we noted, that most of the Irish members, who took part in the debates, addressed themselves to him, rather than to the speaker of the body. It was an involuntary and most edifying homage.

OBITUARY NOTICE, A. D. 1820.—The death of Mr. Grattan is an event over which it becomes Ireland to mourn. He was her truest patriot as well as her brightest ornament. There was not more to admire in his extraordinary eloquence and abundant knowledge, than in the natural elevation of his sentiments, the ingenuousness of his character, and the simplicity of his demeanour. He had, in his political life, both courage and conduct in an eminent degree. Perhaps he should not have accepted a seat in the British Parliament; but he entered that body not to shine and lead, but to serve Ireland when the opportunity might be afforded. He seldom enjoyed this opportunity, and he knew and felt the futility of most of his endeavours. We heard one of the most elaborate of his speeches in the House of Commons, in favour of Catholic emancipation, and have never heard a finer, nobler oration.

His manner, as a speaker, was not engaging; it was even awkward and uncouth: his voice had neither volume nor music; but the peculiarity of his tone and gesture; the animation of his countenance; the fervour of his spirit; the connected force of his reasoning; the wisdom of his maxims, and the brilliant antithesis which almost every one of his sentences involved, fixed the attention of his hearers, and left them under impressions with respect to his subject and his powers, such as the eloquence of no other man produced. Everything was peculiar both in the exhibition of the orator, and in the pleasure and admiration which he excited. He was an anxious, fond observer of the struggle of these United States for independence; he never concealed his wishes for their success; he has expressed to us in the warmest terms his delight in their advances to greatness, and his confidence

in the moral triumph of their institutions. As Americans we are disposed to honour his memory. It has not, we perceive, been neglected by the English. He has been buried in Westminster Abbey, by the side of Charles Fox, whom he equalled in the generosity of his nature and surpassed in the rectitude of both his political and private career.

DR. ALLISON, OF EDINBURGH.

A REMINISCENCE.

ADDRESSED, SOME YEARS AGO, TO A YOUNG LADY OF PHILADELPHIA.

I venture to send my serious friend Miss W.-grave book which was brought to my recollection by the conversation of yesterday afternoon. If she has never read any of Mr. Allison's sermons, I could wish her to select the two relating to the *winter* season, in order to judge of his intellectual and moral tone. That on *Autumn* is likewise characteristic, and sweetly and elegantly impressive. In the advertisement to the volume, he mentions the peculiar composition of his audience—persons of the higher ranks and the youth pursuing their studies in the High School and the University. To form a better idea of the effect of his discourses, Miss W. must image to herself a man about fifty years of age; of a very handsome and benignant countenance; a portly though not heavy frame; a graceful, modest carriage; a musical, pathetic, clear, pervading voice; high literary reputation; excellent social qualities. Whose whole life was coincident with his doctrine, and whose "honesty in the sacred cause" no one could doubt who knew how he

acted in every sphere of duty. The particular sermon which I mentioned yesterday, has not, I believe, been printed; at least it is not contained in any collection.

It was preached on the occasion of the death of Sir John Moore, Commander of the British army which went through, in a long retreat before the French, the most horrible disasters, and altogether evacuated Spain at Coruña in December 1808.

Dr. Southey's account, in his History of the War in Spain and Portugal, of this portentous disaster, is an admirable performance under every aspect. It is one of the most skilful and absorbing narratives of military reverse, distress, havoc, gallantry and fortitude, with which this department of literature has been enriched by any pen.

Sir John was a Scotsman, and many of his countrymen—gallant officers belonging to the old noble families,—fell with him on what is called the *bed of glory*. He was eminently beloved and admired; his mother and sisters resided in Edinburgh: where, too, lived a considerable number of the relatives of the slain—all connected by ties of friendship with the interesting family of the preacher and members of the upper circles of fashion. Dr. Allison seized this opportunity, when the pride of the Scottish capital, its luxury and its vanity, were in mourning and dismay; and when the national cause seemed to have received a blow nearly fatal in the midst of the sanguine hopes which the revolt of the Spaniards from Napoleon and the well-equipped expedition under Sir John Moore, had excited. There was a deep gloom of public despondency, which was aggravated by the wide spread and unfeigned private grief,—many a heart being torn and bereaved, whose affections had fed only on the

imagination; whose objects had yielded confidence and pleasure alone.

I went on the Sunday afternoon, in January, to the Church, with the Ladies C—, in all the buoyancy and comparative recklessness of youth:—the congregation included hundreds of the relatives of the officers who perished in the retreat and final bloody battle, the mother and sisters of Moore, and the greater part of the University students;—and the majority of the auditors were clad in black. A more solemn and tender scene could not be formed:—the preacher and the moralist did justice to his manifold task, which was to celebrate the virtues of the dead; to soothe the sorrows of the mourners; to raise the national spirit and at the same time to enforce the lessons of humility and piety which the nature of the catastrophe and the condition of British affairs could not fail to convey to every reflecting or sensitive mind. He began about half an hour before twilight, and continued with a strain of the most touching panegyric and exhortation, until he was scarcely visible in the pulpit; and then, he struck the chords of lofty patriotism and virtuous love, so passionately and skilfully that the greater part of us were on our feet in a few moments; and as he paused while light was gradually diffused through the church, the mingling of his own sobs with those of the excited relatives and friends, produced altogether a sensation more engrossing and moving than any which I had ever witnessed or experienced. The transition,—after he recovered from his own paroxysm of sympathy and regret,—to topics of consolation and encouragement, was equally fine and calculated to purify and elevate the soul in the same degree. When Sir John Moore was expiring on the field in the arms of Colonel Anderson, his friend

and companion in war—for one and twenty years, he observed,—“Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can;—say to my mother”—but his voice failed and his agitation did not allow him to venture again to name her. You can conceive the emotion which prevailed when Dr. Allison related this anecdote with a choked utterance.

There was another striking incident. In the utmost terror and precipitation of the retreat, an officer of the staff found, at a small distance from the road, a woman stretched on the ground in the last agonies of dissolution with a live infant near her; he attempted to assist her.—She pointed to the child, whispering “God bless you, it is all over with me.” He tied the infant to his back with the mother’s handkerchief, carried it thus a great number of miles, and finally placed it in safety, though he himself sank under his fatigues and wounds.

DR. PARR AND SCHOLARSHIP.

Since the demise of Dr. Johnson, no author has passed from the stage of life in Great Britain, about whom so much has been published, and in whose memory so much interest has been displayed, as the renowned *Samuel Parr*. Sketches and anecdotes of this mighty scholar abound even in the common journals; the attention of the British literati, and of all the reading loungers, has been called on every side to every trait of his character and the whole tenor of his long life. Already, we possess distinct and copious memoirs from two of his most intimate friends and associates,—those mentioned at the head of our article. The compeer of Johnson has not indeed been resuscitated by a Boswell; but some magician of

this order may yet accomplish more than a galvanic revival of his intellectual being, and reproduce his colloquial wisdom and acrid flow of eloquence. We need still—to use his own phrase,—the droppings of his tongue; for his biographers concur in declaring that, in richness and felicity of conversation, he more than equalled the other oracle. In the *Memoirs* of Dr. Parr, by the Rev. William Field and John Johnstone, we have ample accounts of his education, studies, professional labours, sermons and tracts, correspondence and connexions, family affairs and personal habits, but only a few examples of the profound or acute remarks, the splendid sentences, the classical lore and novel imagery, the piercing shafts and overwhelming bolts, by which he delighted or astonished his mere hearers, and uniformly vanquished his antagonists, in social discussion.

Dr. Blomfield styled Parr “the profoundest scholar and most sagacious critic of the age.” Archdeacon Butler pronounced him to be “in classical knowledge supreme,” and other testimony not less authoritative could be adduced to the same effect. Both his biographers assert and almost prove his superiority in Greek and Latin learning, and even in powers of general authorship, over his British contemporaries. After having read again, in this new collection of his works, such specimens of his Latin composition as the Preface to *Bellendenus*, and his inscriptions; and of his English style and ethics, as the Dedication and the Preface to the Warburtonian Tracts, and some of his public discourses and political addresses, we confess that we are disposed to unite in placing him at least on the level of the Bentleys and Porsons in scholarship, and of the Taylors and Johnsons in dignity, force, plenitude, and correctness of English diction. He is a great moralist, an erudite divine, a deep metaphysician, a well-

informed jurist, a most redoubtable censor and disputant, the nicest and surest of philologers.

Dr. Parr was born at Harrow, in England, on the 15th of January, 1747, and died the 6th of March, 1825.

The portion of his writings which Dr. Johnstone, (his executor) has published, fill's more than five massive octavos. We proceed to mention cursorily the most celebrated of them, having closely perused all, with constant admiration of his powerful intellect and vast reading—and a strong relish for his copious and magnificent, though pompous and artificial style.

His mannerism is stiff and cumbrous, like the old royal brocade; but, resembling further that durable tissue, it is rich, firm, and "masterly, interwoven with gold." To borrow Pope's strong figure, without its arrogance, the bullion of each of Parr's great sentences would shine through whole pages of the tinsel of most of the popular book-wrights of the present generation.

At Norwich, he early appeared in form as an author, by publishing three sermons which were written in a philosophical vein and masterly style, and to which the judges of such excellence paid the amplest tribute of praise. The University of Cambridge recognised him as one of the brightest of her sons, and in 1781 bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. On this occasion, he delivered in the law schools two Latin theses, "in both of which were displayed such strength of reasoning, and power of language, so accurate a knowledge of historical facts, and so clear a comprehension of legal principles, that the whole audience listened with fixed and delighted attention." In the public disputations which followed, he equally captivated his learned hearers by the fluency and eloquence of his Latinity, his acuteness, promptitude and logical vigour.

The sermons which he printed, admirable as they are in argument, language, and reflection, were too long to be *heard*, without indications of impatience. In the preface to one of them, which extends to seventy quarto pages, he says, with genuine *naïveté*—“for the length of this sermon I am unable to make any satisfactory apology.” The *set discourse on Education*, which he preached at Norwich, is a comprehensive treatise, philosophical and practical, more calculated for the closet than the pulpit.

Another discourse, entitled “On the late Fast,” which he pronounced from the pulpit at Norwich, was purchased and read with extraordinary avidity. It may be designated as a code of political ethics, dictated by philosophy, patriotism and eloquence. It treats of the effects of luxury on states, the influence and agency of Providence in determining the fate of nations, the dependence of public happiness on the integrity of public manners, the character of government as the medium through which the Deity conveys punishment to a wicked, and reward to a righteous people.

It was in 1787 that Pari published his celebrated Latin preface to *Bellendenus de Statu*. We need not repeat the history of Bellendenus and his works, but may be expected to say something of the composition and purport of the Preface, which exalted the author to the first rank of modern Latinists. By a singular conceit, as we would call it, he put forth in this form, his opinions on the merits of the chief whig orators, and on the principles and measures of their antagonists, which he detested. The richest and most magnificent in style, of modern Latin compositions, is but a violent party-pamphlet. Nothing of the same kind has been invested with like dignity. Fox, Burke, and North, are his *Tria Iumina Anglorum*,

whose oratory, maxims and procedure he extols to the skies. The characters of other leading men of the times are also etched in strong and brilliant lines. Indignant and superlative invective is heaped upon the ministerial government and party. High tribute is paid to the diction and texture of this *Book* by the summate judges.

We admire nearly as much his *Book* on *Johnson*, the *Dedication* and the *Preface* to the *Warburton Tracts*. It would be difficult for us to select any other seventy pages of English prose which we should prefer to have written, with regard to all qualities of transcendent style, poignant irony, and terrible reprobation. Bishop Herd was a man of talents, of station, of power; but how he dwindleth, or withers in the hands of his honest, keen, irresistible censor! and how even Warburton, Jortin and Leland gather strength and lustre in the same hands! We could wish for space to transcribe the characters of those three worthies and their writings, as they are traced in the *Preface* to the two *Tracts*. The panegyric on *Johnson*, too, is in the noblest strain.

Two addresses "The Sequel," and the "Serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham," occasioned by the Birmingham riots, and embracing the chief political topics of the era, are among the best of his literary offspring.

Parr, as a politician, saw far into futurity, and in respect to the French Revolution, distinctly predicted the ulterior advantages which have been already manifested in France, and some other parts of the European continent. As he idolized Fox when living, so he attempted to canonize him when dead. His fervid admiration and party spleen generated the two enormous or strange

voluminous entitled "Characters of the late Charles James Fox, by *W. Parr: Vernicences*"—a compilation of extremely learned notes, with an appendix of notes upon notes to the *Philopatris* as the text, "Philopatris," says Dr. Parr, "is the name of Mr. Fox; it is the homage of admiration to his talents, and also a disquisition on the principles of law, of jurisprudence and history, and it is one of the best sentiments in the best language of the age. The body of the great note on criminal law is a body of light." This note occupies more than two hundred pages. The philosophy and the learning of the subject are there—the voice of every authority, every suggestion of policy, and every lesson of experience,—all animated by a glowing spirit of benevolence and enforced with characteristic vigour and dignity of expression. Parr's object was the reformation of the Penal Code upon principles of equity, humanity and security, an object which has not yet been compassed in England.

The sermon by which Parr is most widely known, is that which he delivered in 1800, in London, before the Lord Mayor and the governors of the various charitable institutions of the metropolis, and which bears the name of Hospital or Spital. It is composed chiefly of the ablest strictures on Godwin's doctrines, which he refutes as a profound metaphysician and practical philanthropist. He published it with notes, showing a thorough, familiar acquaintance with the metaphysical and ethical writers of both ancient and modern times. The notes fill upwards of two hundred closely printed pages, five or six times as many as in the sermon; but they are of the most nutritive quality. The 76th and 84th are essays sufficient of themselves to give an enviable reputation. Like several of his other productions, they imply powers and attain-

ments that signify the best condition, perhaps, of which the human understanding is susceptible. Dugald Stewart wrote to him—"Your sermon, luminous as it is in its principles, and pathetic in its practical application, has scarcely instructed and delighted me more than the philosophical erudition and discrimination which is displayed in your notes." Godwin addressed a letter of complaint to Parr, respecting the severity of his criticism, which the Doctor sent a reply, that the author of the sermon must have wished he had never provoked it. It is inserted in Johnstone's volume of Memoirs, and conveys the feelings of one who, though he sided with whigs and lived amicably with unitarians, yet would lend no countenance to the sophists waging war on the whole scheme of Christianity and social order.

The intense concern and prominent share which Parr took in party politics, were incongruous with his ministry, and unlucky for the generations to whom he might have bequeathed more valuable legacies, if his thoughts and exertions had been confined within the proper sphere. His truly Ciceronian Latin would have been employed less fantastically, upon materials less perishable, than in the *Præface to Bellendenus*; and his ethical wisdom and mastery of English style exercised with more comprehensive and lasting influence than they are in his disquisitions on the claims, the measures and attributes of whigs and tories.

Dr. Johnstone, as one of his executors, has promised to send forth more of his productions, and especially of his vast correspondence, and his "classical morsels," to ease the present volumes be received with ~~suspicion~~. We shall rejoice to see a selection made from his works, for publication in the United States. If people must eat paper

one of his favourite figures,) in the course of his life. In intellects, we should much prefer such a man to the substantialists and the dandies which he has created, and to the crudities or the corruptions which are to be found in most of the novels and memoirs that are now written in the London hot-beds. What with the fashionable novels, the patriotic military pens, the smattering of untaught physical science which every writer of the day is sure to put into his pages, the emulous rapidity and hasty diligence in composing for the press, the indefinite practice of loose periodical writing, the acceptance of ridiculous dictionaries ratifying and perpetuating the vulgarization of our language by the worst provincial dialects, we do not know, or rather we fear that we know too well, how soon we shall lose the good old English writing style, unless an antidote to these bane, like the highly finished performances of Parr, be furnished from time to time in the shape of a *novelty*. That towering author often intimated his dread of the mischief, which he believed to be threatened by the prevalent habit of superficial and desultory reading under the imposing name of general knowledge. For real assistance, he looked to the old masters, and to those of his contemporaries who appeared as authors, only when matured as men, and who then composed as Apelles painted, for beauty.

We should be disposed to apologize to our readers for the space which we have devoted to Parr, if he had been a learned and skilful pedagogue, an erudite oddity, a wit, a divine, or a simple commentator of Greek and Latin. The man of whose literary character and attainments we have thus spoken, was a luminary in moral and religious writing who has left masterpieces of English

as well as Latin and Greek propositi, and many others who set the example of the French, and the English, benevolent toleration, a subject to which much attention and metaphysician as Dr. Coplestone, though a man of no person living, qualified to throw light on the meaning of the Greek and Latin languages, by his extensive and accurate investigation, that is yourself, and your learned and distinguished and connected, that the number of his eminent correspondents spreads over twenty years, and that the number of letters on the most important subjects of literature, which he could collect several years before his death, considerably exceeded eight thousand, a phenomenon looking from an humble sphere, with eccentricities or foibles to provoke ridicule, virtues to command reverence, and abilities to excite wonder. He shed additional lustre on the calling which Milton and Johnson exercised—the instruction of youth; a calling that should be equal in consideration to any other, as it is second to none in refined utility, and which the American people particularly may honour, since it has been performed magnificently by so large a portion of their ablest public men.

Warburton, Johnson, and Parr, are sufficiently remarkable as the most eminent of a species of educated writers peculiar to England, who have enjoyed a pre-eminence altogether unequalled. We have no其他国家的 popularity and vogue in the highest circles, than those that equal relations with noblemen, statesmen, and other magnificaries of the first order, and to the instruction of youth on their opinions and knowledge. How all these are founded on other basis of character, and not on the acquirement of the faculties; and in what manner the former are supported by the nobility, dictatorial spirit and power, and the latter by adventitious and external circumstances, is a question which procure deference, awe, and respect.

Europe has furnished no instances of
such a career as that of Parr in his
native country, or such a series of
successes and connexions. Men there
have been sent out of England, who can be at least
equally distinguished in scholars and writers, and whose
names have been widely honoured and
esteemed; but the sum of their lives and influence have been
insignificant, and their services relatively unimportant. In France,
however, we may perceive at the beginning of her Revolution,
noblemen, physicians by birth, and some of them—such as
the Marquis de Sade and Danton—of unpolished and overweening
ambition, to mix on an equal footing with the
nobility and the middle classes, and to be invested with
considerable social and political consequence: but they were
the mere tools of eloquent declamation operating upon the nation
in general; poets and moralists addressing themselves to
the manners and taste of the patricians; pseudo-philosophers
and speculators upon political institutions and religious sentiments,
whose sole attention was universally fixed, and which
the nobility and middle classes were blindly leagued to im-
pose upon them; and their combined and mutual influence with
the people (who were naturally most ignorant) were naturally most fatal; a fact so
well known to the world, and easily inferred from the causes, that it
is now become almost unnecessary to detail their revolution,
and the execution of their terrible *Essay on
the Equality of Men with the Great*, (Essai
sur l'Égalité des Hommes et des Grands,) though
it is still a most instructive and impressive for the most
vivid imagination to peruse the mass of letters and
memoranda, and the numerous documents on the con-
cerned subjects, which have been the estimation of the
French people, and constantly subject
to the sarcasm and humour of insolence. We

shall make a few quotations from illustrations possessing historical interest.

“ *Les Dieux*,” scrivoit Philippe au plus grand étonnement de ses états, *m’ont donné un fils*, et je ne sais pas pourquoi, *qui m’a donné l’avoir donné, que de me l’avoit donné*, sans doute pour me faire une lettre, qui fait pour le moins étonnant de l’philosophie. L’philosophie, doit immortaliser Philippe au moins pour l’habileté avec laquelle il a su faire une telle chose. Mais depuis long-temps que les philosophes ne se sont pas occupés de l’art des lettres, je ne dis pas des princesses, mais de l’art des lettres, j’espérais de le deviner.”

“C'est un grand géomètre, dit-on, et c'est pourtant un homme d'esprit; louanges assez humiliantes dans leur principle, et semblables à telles que l'on donna aux grands seigneurs. Cela est vrai, et cependant ils passablement sur un ouvrage de science ou d'érudition, et se récrie sur leur sagacité: comme si un homme de qualité n'eût pas l'état d'être moins instruit qu'un autre sur les choses dont il parle; en un mot on traite en France les géomètres et les grands seigneurs à-peu-près comme on fait les ambassadeurs Torca et Peraudi, qui furent tout surpris de trouver, au bon sens le plus ordinaire à un homme, qu'il n'est ni François ni Anglais, et en conséquence qu'il n'a pas de bouche comme des Anglais, mais les autres, et que, pour la vérité on démaloit dans les deux autres, mais que dans la bouche on y trouveroit des paroles de l'autre pays, et que l'autre, même de leur pays.

“ Parmi les personnes qui ont les plus grandes idées, on voit dépourvues avec une évidente naïveté de tout préjugé, et jusqu’au point de l’absurde, certaines idées qui sont admises dans les conversations où l’on a l’habileté de faire croire à une mesure que l’homme d’expériences n’osera pas prendre, et paroisse exiger la défection de l’ordre. Il n’ose pas prendre, par dispenser, une mesure que l’ordre n’osera pas prendre, de lettres rogatoires, de la nature qui vise à empêcher que quelqu’un ait à faire des choses cotées.”

“Un homme de lettres plus estimé qu’un ministre, un grand seigneur déshonoré, croyant à tout.”

... et les hommes de lettres seront pour le rang, et l'homme de science pour l'ordre. Mais, si je devais écrire un ouvrage comme Philopomen, je paye l'industrie de l'auteur et non pas la vertu de l'ouvrage.

It is a common remark, that in England, all were not great, with the circumstance of Newton's being the greatest genius of his age; but that in France, the philosopher and the poet were required to be *amiable* besides. It is a common remark, that an eminent French geometrician was discovered to be a man of refined mind and captious turn of wit; very soon, says D'Alembert, every geometrician, without distinction, was run after in Paris, but the man did not last long. He laboured to persuade the Frenchmen of rank and wealth, that the writers of the *Encyclopédie* were the dispensers of fame or blame both past and future, domestic and external, and of course to be caressed and honoured; that the professed, regular men of letters were the only true judges of literary production; that intellectual culture and endowments were not the most valuable and noble in themselves; that England was the only country for the admiration which she enjoyed in Europe; that birth, name, rank, office, and wealth, while knowledge and talents were sure to procure reputation and honour for the author; and above all procured reputation and honour for the publisher. The only difference between the Johnnies and the Frenchmen was, that these truths may have made the profligate Johnnies more numerous in England; but other circumstances may have contributed to explain the case. The English have been educated in the classical languages, and educated in the classical literature; they have been educated with a particular regard to the structure of the language, and the structure of it, and the structure of the mind; and with its intrinsic structure, and the structure of the church and state, and of the society of men; and it is a fact, that individuals of humble birth, and of the lowest class, and often do reach the highest

posts in each, by means chiefly of the pulpit and the press. In the administration of a government, the pulpit is the chief under a system of education mainly classical, with an immense body of readers, and an overwhelming public opinion formed by public writers and speakers. Literacy, knowledge, and capacity cannot fail to be recognized and rewarded. *Intellect and power*: all who would possess general information and reputation, must strive to speak or write with knowledge, information, elegance, or correct taste; and they will gain honour what is thus necessary and efficient. The hierarchy in Great Britain—we might say the clergy in general, have great weight throughout the social and political system; and they owe it to religion, income and social rank united. Their learning being essentially classical, their accomplishment partakes of whatever authority and respectability they derive from other sources. Ministers of the gospel enjoy considerable importance in the United States, and a portion of them are scholars, though not of the same high calibre as the British. New-England can boast of a number of divines eminently learned, whose lives and labours deserve to be much more widely known and appreciated than they are. In the division of our Republic, the ecclesiastic is a person of much more weight than in Europe, neither erudition nor literary nor moral worth so much enters materially into what we may call the ecclesiastical momentum: this is derived from the religious and moral habits of the people, the rivalry of persons belonging to numberless sects, the influence of the press, and the moral and moral sense of the people.

In our country, the pulpit is the chief organ of influence in the higher professions and the public mind. The public writers as Johnson and Parr, and the public speakers, of interest, is much less in number and influence than in Great Britain, or even in Germany.

EDACTICS.

classical education slender; business knowledge nearly universal; elementary, secondary, and advanced knowledge chiefly prized. No one can tell what of the teacher of the ancient Greeks and Romans was more profound or very comprehensive, but the teacher of the modern suffices, almost for celebrity. The English, however, have pursued to a wonderful extent, and in a singular variety of modes, but with fewer success, than in philological knowledge, philosophical inquiry, refined taste, and durable texture, than they ever did in any other nation. Nevertheless, the British have always been read and valued among us. The chief causes of the comparative inabilities of the country account for the want of originality in the nation, and the relative insignificance of

CANNING.

Views of the character and career of a man who was a statesman and orator, may be termed American, as he could not be found ridiculous in any country. He was a strict adherent of the strictest economy, and they were the chief means by which our country then distinguished itself, and was observed.

He was a man of unimpeached and most eminent talents, and derived his information from American sources. He was a man who went into politics with a desire to do an extraordinary service to his country, and of the United States.

He is a man that they are too severe, and that he is not equal to the task of a history and comparative, of his

general merits as a statesman and orator, though high, is still lower, perhaps than is due. National scorn is an essential element of national vitality and dignity, and to be liberally indulged—but it often operates, like prejudice or resentment, in underrating those by whose dispositions, acts, or language it has been offended.

The biographical memoirs of Mr. Canning, and the explanations of his motives and conduct, which have since been published, further reflection on his merits and performances compared with those of surviving political dignitaries, and the recent history of Europe, have heightened our disposition to admire, and our original reluctance to criticise the memory of this brilliant genius: and we have written accordingly.

The famous boast of Mr. Canning, in one of his speeches relative to Spanish and Portuguese affairs, that he had called a new world into existence by his recognition of the independence of the Spanish America, was in every respect exorbitant, and neither true nor just to the government of our Union. Mr. A. G. Stapleton, Esq., entitled the Political Life of the Hon. George Canning, in three volumes, he has very proudly followed up that boast in several places, and that, what may be called the stability of our Government in the British recognition will be one day held up to the world by Mr. Adams, who was American Secretary of State during the negotiations on the subject.

COMMENTS ON THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE HON. GEORGE CANNING.

The British public writers, Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Canning, have exhausted all the materials for a history on his memory: some time ago, Mr. Macaulay

and his character may be scanned and impartially judged. We may, however, be assured that there is *no one* to whom the world will be more desolate. He may have a successor, but it is not likely that he has left a name than that of a man who does not adorn the page of history. The prolonged existence, the progressive and revolutionary *civilized world* were identified; and his brilliant eloquence, his profound sagacity, his decided sentiments, and his comprehensive wisdom placed him *immeasurably* above *all* his contemporaries; and his was a *suspenseless* moral and political power, &c. All this is evident hyperbole. We should say of Mr. Webster that he was a man of genius and energy, a fine orator, a brilliant wit, and a splendid rhetorician; but we should hesitate to pronounce him a *great statesman*, or to deplore his decease as if it were a very calamity for the civilized world or even Great

He was convinced that the United States have no cause to complain beyond the sentiment which should every man feel in the estimation of his virtues and attainments, and in the estimation of his enemies. He was, and always would have been, averse to the use of his name in his official papers, and he always carried a mixture of dislike and contempt in his heart for the policy of the British Government. He was a man of a dangerous or truly amicable character, and was a man of many speeches, and of many faults. He was a man who did not easily forgive, and was a man of a bold and haughty re-
mark, and a man who was averse to American manners, and a man who was averse to American institutions, and a man who was averse to the phrase concerning

our country and government. There is but one period in our annals, institutions, condition of society, which in our colonial period, elated the heart, and moved the veins of the Gibbons and Burkes, never more, and it not seems to have even touched his soul of iron. The patriotic and classic enthusiasm. On one occasion, when he was at Liverpool, when the presence of the French Minister d'Affaires and other circumstances, required his application of courtesy, was he brought to the utterance of a few kind and complimentary sentences to the republicans in America. His sympathies with republicanism, it is true, belong to Ancient Rome and Greece, and came from his college exercises and profusions. In public discussion and action he manifested not merely repugnance, but open hostility to the republican system. We who witnessed several of his sallies in the House of Commons, against the United States, know that he threw out more taunts and supercilious caresses than were given the world by the Revolutionists in the Gallery; and that the broad significance of his manner, as much as the verity of his words, tells a story of contemptuous dealing equally with his immediate discontents. However, finally, his "ruling passion" to bring republicanism into the "paragon of monarchies," was the chief support of the monarchical cause, for which all his talents and efforts evince that he felt a constant interest.

The cause of freedom on the American continent, gave him nothing. Most, Spain, and Portugal had been his aid in those wars, and he had no sympathy with them, liberately, and with a spirit of independence, against despotism. As far as the United States were concerned, he was finally recognisised, and his services were rewarded. Mr. Canning's own services to the United States, were with a single eye to the promotion of his own power.

were the former to present questions of civil liberty more direct and forcible than the speech of Earl Grey, on this occasion, which he declined for an unanswerable refutation of the points preferred by his friends. He was opposed to Parliamentary Reform, and to the repeal of the Tax and Corporation Laws. — As a member of Parliament, he advocated, in his time, Catholic Emancipation; but it was most formally, and as it were by his direct authority, proclaimed in the London Courier, and other ministerial papers, that the prospects of the Catholics ought not to be regarded as at all improved by his accession to the first place in the government.

We do not know that any one conversant with his history imagines him to have been a republican in spirit, or really contradistinguished from the British aristocracy or oligarchy. Such a notion will be contrary to his own constant declarations and invariable course. He attached himself from the outset, to the Tory party, and always remained with them in office; no man exerted himself more to annoy the Whigs at home and the republicans and reformers abroad, by ridicule and invective; he would not have quitted and did attempt to form a Tory cabinet. On a recent occasion, his alliance with the Whigs was deemed necessary, and we fully believe that none of his personal or patriotic public objects would have been promoted by the junction. He was married to a daughter of the Duke of Portland; the Marquis of Clanricarde was his son-in-law; his personal connexions were numerous with the aristocratic branches of society. His popularity, however, may have gained among the people, from the circumstances to have arisen, of his being the natural enemies of the Whigs, and of the Whigs being the natural enemies in England.

and on the Continent, whose principles and jargon caused a reaction in his favor.

In adventuring these curiosities, he has no intention to detract from his just reputation. Although dead, he should not be rated too highly, and rated on fictitious grounds. There was that kind of excellence in his abilities and life, which will give lustre and force to his name throughout a long tract of time, and cover a large portion of space: but he was, on the whole, inferior to many ancients and many moderns in the catalogue of statesmen and public benefactors.

As to such a statesman as the late British premier, we inquire or reflect, before we pronounce upon the degree in which Americans should lament him in that capacity, what the cause of freedom generally owed to him, and what were his dispositions and plans in reference to our country. It happened to us to hear all his best speeches during three sessions of Parliament, when all his powers were in their utmost energy and lustre; and we have seen at least seventeen years past, constantly and throughout all the debates in that body, and the public arena of Great Britain during the same period. Thus, so far as the humble powers go, we may decide primaries and secondary titles to the admiration of millions and the contempt of America. We need not repeat the narrative, however loud and diffusive related to the name of England, where so many have been won over by the chorus by feelings and interests, and so foreign to us, as to have deeply his fine qualities of humour, and his splendid monosyllables; we have derived from his early volumes, and his printed speeches, where

irresistibly, and passed

unopposed. He deserved, finally, his reputation of being the ablest party champion in the House of Commons. His oratory, with its lustre and animation overbalanced the variety, and vivacity of his opponents. In debate, he was a complete master of all weapons, and made for himself a name in the British House of Commons. His political speeches and orations are matchless of their kind. They are indeed exquisite specimens of his ready wit, his eloquence, and lofty elocution. Most of them are now lost, but we may still see, and such are the pith, poignancy, and brilliant persuading facility, by which they shine in the pages of history. Let us, then, that we might give to each Cicero's designation, and one of Lelius' short and beautiful harangues, call him *Oratuncula*. Chearfully admitting all these qualifications, we cannot conceal our real impressions of his character. He was a man of commanding conduct such as we have exhibited

of him. He was, we repeat, bright and brilliant, and commanding as a political speaker; he was, however, less brilliant and ingenuous in party con-

cerns. He was a highly gifted and accomplished classical writer. He was, however, a man of very few, but reserved, and retiring manners. He was not inclined to derogate from the rank of his coadjutors, and was inferior to Pitt in eloquence, and to Burke in cogent, rapid, and forcible oration; to Burke, also, in the moral principle of his politics, and in the force and the terseness and

eloquence of his speeches. Sheridan, Broug-

DUGALD STEWART

ham, Mackintosh, and Peel, and others, were extremely anxious. We think that the late Lord Londonderry was a man well informed in his sphere; and even in the estimation of the House of Commons; and we are inclined to think more judicious in his diplomatic views than his enemies. The vainglorious taunts, boasts and tropes of Canning, directed ultimately at the great powers of the Empire, were well calculated to exasperate and alienate those whom he would offend. It was the interest of Great Britain to preserve a friendly alliance. Lord Londonderry contrived to render willing and amenable to her schemes of ambition and cupidity. Referring to the particular speech on Portuguese affairs, by which he specially affronted the Holy Alliance, we can scarcely regard it as a merit, that he published that speech, so modified and mutilated as to be no longer the same in purport and effect. He deliberately retracted in writing what he had most emphatically uttered in oration. At one moment, he was seen to brave and insult the continental monarchies; at the next, to shrink abjectly from acting the operation of his own oration.

DUGALD STEWART

HIS PORTRAIT.—BOSTON.—1835.

A VALUABLE AND WELCOME ADDITION to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts is the portrait of Professor Dugald Stewart, recently painted by the late Sir Henry Raeburn. Dr. Smith, the former pupil and ardent admirer of the illustrious professor, presented the portrait to the Academy for one hundred dollars, and has given

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which would be most suitably
adapted to the instruction and the gratification of the
youths of the country and strangers. At the same
time, Dr. Stewart, who is in the first rank
of the physicians of the world, has a copy of it, which is to be
presented to the Society of Arts in South Carolina.
He has written a memoir of his services in his work and
will speak in the highest terms of the high merits of
the author. The manuscript of the picture was brought to this
country by a vessel bound for New York and Delaware. Neither
the master nor the crew of the vessel would consent to
allow it to be taken on board for the freight. We mention
this as a proof of the high estimation in which the picture
is held.

Dr. Stewart is held in higher estimation in America
than any man living. His character, his talents, and his private
and social virtues form a title to our reverence, which is
equalled only by the importance of his genius,
and the value of his works. We have not the pleasure of
knowing any man who have
read the picture, but who can speak of all of his works;
and we have not the pleasure of knowing from his Chair
any man who has not the highest strain of
genius. Dr. Stewart has always looked
forward to the time when he would be called and con-
sidered a man of the world. He observes,
however, that he is not yet a man of the world.

He has written to Dr. Franklin, with, it
is said, a very interesting memoir of the friendship
between them. Dr. Franklin has written, from Mr.
Adams, a very interesting memoir of the
friendship between them. Dr. Franklin is a man of the world, and anxious
to receive the memoir. Dr. Stewart has written sincerely in her
name, and she has written to Dr. Franklin, to assure him that
she has not highly recommended the memoir, and that she has received in that

WASHINGTO

We have obtained permission from Mr. Biddle to extract, in addition to the enclosed letter which he received, the following from himself, and of which the original is in his hands, thanks for a copy of the Address on the Political Economy.

" You may easily conceive how much interest I have in the Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, which I have introduced into some of your seminaries of education. In writing it, I had in view chiefly my younger countrymen, and the views and hopes from my long experience in this country, and in Europe, of the service also to my young American friends. Your young countrymen's dispositions are more moderate, for not to mention that as men engaged in life and engage in the affairs of the world, they will, or have, less taste for abstract speculations, — their minds, however, in other respects, seldom fail to become interested in many subjects and studies which do not fall in with their usual habits of thinking.

" I hope you will have the goodness to let me hear from you occasionally, although I cannot promise, unless my health and circumstances expectedly take a more favorable turn, to be very regular in returning any part of the correspondence. No person, I suppose, has more interest than myself in everything connected with the progress of the United States, and any information you may furnish me respecting their progressive improvement will be much valued.

WASHINGTO

It strikes us particularly that we have not hitherto been duly rated as a nation in the estimation of Europe. We have had the war of our Revolution, and the contest for our independence, of intellectual and moral consequence, and our political or ensemble war, a position of high and acknowledged worth. We have had, however, no military or naval contests, no mighty campaigns and successes, no battles, no sieges, no where evidence of our military power, and our naval power is not yet known, and our naval contests are not yet known.

pondence of letters sufficient to give a full history of the war—these form a still imperfect history, but the difficulties Washington had to encounter and overcome in the course of the war, his main duty and aim as general, the progress of the war, the various campaigns, or extensive conquests, the losses of the Americans, the armies, dwindle and fade to nothing, and the English, with such a complication of difficulties, and with such a variety of resources, attain final mastery and happy issue. The history of the war, in its infinite and diversified interest, is a history of the life and character of the warrior in any period. With the sword and the battle-arms, we must investigate all the details of the revolution, the revolutionary situation, contest and triumph, they are all there in the revised work of Marshall.

BOLIVAR, the celebrated Colombian chief, has been styled the Washington of South America. It is probable that justice has not been done to Bolivar, should he ever certainly far from the glorious equality to which enthusiasm would have exalted his name in his days of triumph and popularity.

There is no difficulty in distinguishing between the real Washington, the paragon and benefactor of his country, and any *peculiar* crested and worshipped by us, magnified in a glorious falsehood, and unknown —between the sun, the golden sun, and the *parhelion*, or mere simony, the sun of the earth. To truly Washington it was not merely to have been brave, and resolute, and trepid, judicious, and statesman, and entirely consistent in his conduct, but to have done an immoral act, and to have done it with an affectionate and considerate regard for every detail, in the course of a long and strenuous life, in accordance, observing the principles of justice, and the

the author of the *Confederate Statesman*. Besides having studied his political history, and his official correspondence, we have also the productions of his pen, which are all written in a style that it is impossible to doubt that they are all the work of one man's own mind;—and what men! what a man! what a spirit! what a mind! what intelligent zeal! what interest! what boldness! what a life and elevated a spirit! how strong, clear, forcible and forcible a style! The man, the statesman, the commander, the writer, were all combined in one man.

... a character has been involved in clouds, which may be dissolved. When he is no longer to be feared and his loss shall be felt. We are disposed to conclude, on the whole, that he deserves to be styled a great man—perhaps a true patriot. His fate is strong admonition for the inordinately ambitious, if it should be proved that he was so—and it yields a melancholy lesson to the noble and devoted spirits that seek to obtain real freedom and safety for a people yet far from being prepared to understand and enjoy those benefits. No one of the Spanish American nations seems to have been able to distinguish clearly between the honest and hypocritical votaries of their liberty—between the traitors and the martyrs—between the betrayers and the betrayed—the conspirators and the conspiracies. The unfeeling and unscrupulous crew has had a multitude of opportunities to prove that their fortunes or their personal safety were of more value than the welfare of the public—of the nation. They have been in a position of confidence with unlikened and unscrupulous men. The most malignant and treacherous crew that ever disgraced a government:—its reward is the same as that which is usually allotted to its

At the bottom of Norway there is the following sentence: "Williamson bought our shores."

after resigning the sceptre which he might have held for life, possibly transmitted to his children, but who has ever done his country better than all power could have done, and who has ever been suffered to pass (as was the case of George III.) without search at any custom-house, in any of his movements? The ignorance of Britons with regard to our revolution seems to be incurable. Whatever has been said of the circumstances and dispositions of the American people, must know that it has never been in the power of any man to acquire a sceptre or life-rule over them—unless to establish an hereditary dominion.

The signers of our Declaration of Independence, and the other founders of our multitudinous Republic, boundless in extent and power, consisted of lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers, and planters; each of which description could boast members that towered in the most exalted class of the revolutionary worthies: and with regard to these, no province of the confederation could properly exult over the other, so happily were they distributed, throughout the whole. Whatever has been brought to light, in their confidential letters and papers, concerning their sensations, views, and measures, is calculated to enhance their repute for probity, wisdom, firmness, and patriotism. Making that allowance for folly and mistakes, which is the claim of human infirmity, and for the natural partiality of those who have furnished the materials of their biographies, it is yet impossible to have perused them, and not to be persuaded that no people were ever blessed with a grand council and agency more admirably prepared, in spirit and capacity, to achieve the most momentous of national enterprises, and services. The largest contingent to the records of history.

If the Declaration of Independence was itself excellent and glorious, it is rendered more so by the characters

such as they are lauded by chosen
writers, and which, when they are proved to have been by their
own efforts, and the efforts of their auxiliaries, and those remains, origi-
nally, in the possession of the nation, but now divulged, which lay
bare the secret, and, as it were, *latent*, thoughts, and designs, unsus-
pected, and, indeed, *unconceived*, of the *construction*. The degree in
which they pursued, so passionately and strenuously, upon
the *construction*, not less than sentiment, and with reference to
the probable future rather than present or personal ills, is, we
think, unequalled in the examples of collective
patriotism. They pledged their lives and property,
made prodigious efforts, underwent the sharpest trials,
voluntarily and mainly for *abstract right*; for the mere
sense of *regulated liberty*, and for the political dignity,
more than the *vulgar welfare*, of their descendants. All
their political speculations, too, had a sure anchorage in
religion, morals, law, and order. Many of them fought
with the armies; and all seem to have been endued with
that "courage of the cabinet" which Burke justly pro-
claims to be more powerful and far less common than
the courage of the field. To them, he, their admirer and
friend, might and doubtless would have applied his own
adage, used of true statesmen and patriots generally:
"The courage of the cabinet is very different from the unthinking
courage of the common soldier, or common sailor, in the
face of danger and death: it is a cool, steady, deliberate
courage, always present, always equable; having no
connection with anger, tempering honour with prudence;
it is not exasperated, and stigmatized, by a generous love of
danger; it is not exasperated, and directed, by an enlarged
sense of the own great public ends; flowing in one
current, it subsists from the opposite sources of the heart
and head; it is, in itself, its own commission, and
is not liable to every other command, by the first and

most difficult command, that of the human mind, in which man resides."

One of the causes of the great dissipation and corruption of the abasement of the human mind in the despotic and imperial countries of antiquity and modern times, was the arbitrary association of transient and temporary moral and intellectual qualities with the more permanent qualities of high rank, title or office. The emperor, the nobility, the chief, all the privileged orders, all who belonged to the government and court, were to be deemed superior beings in themselves, the gifted elect of the human race. It was and is the policy of the despotic and aristocratic governments to foster this idea to the degree of superstition and fanaticism; and thus to maintain their own supremacy by the abjection of the mass of subjects. The habit among these of looking up to the rulers and nobility with admiration and awe, and offering incense and devotion, as due to the individuals, was promoted with the utmost care and vigilance, in order to perpetuate exclusive power, wealth and factitious excellence.

What contradistinguished the Republics was not merely an equality of right, but the comparative equality of condition and *opinion*; office could be honoured but the possession of it did not communicate to the individual peculiar and extraordinary talents, knowledge, or even supereminence. Man-worship in short—the acknowledgment of a race of human demigods—was not common or adscititious—language, spirit, manner, were more adapted to the reality of characters and talents.

From the annals, circumstances, incidents, general sentiments and mutual relations of the revolutionists, both before as well as since our Revolution, every one might have inferred that adulation of the holders of office—of public servants—was the vice and degeneracy to which

we were the least liable, which we should always consider as the most incompatible with our situation for personal sensations and polity. We had a Chief Magistrate the ~~best man~~ of the age—confessed indeed even before he became the first man of history—yet he was not wholly clear the strain and with the men of flattery—unmitigated as he was possessed, was a tribute to him—how brave but not desirous, he was told that the country was fortunate in possessing such a President that did not think he was *born to command*, not that it was *glorious to serve* under him or execute his behests. The *courage* was justly celebrated, but it was not so highly alleged that he was destined *by the favor of God and all others*. Washington in fact was too modest to be conscious of the grand liability and magnitude of his own nature—too well acquainted with the *crisis* and *danger* of our institutions to be unfeeling to the Pow of Heaven that addresses him in a *language* of divinity preternaturally beaming with unexampled *eloquence* with an infinite number of *success* complete in every enterprise of *war and government*. The days of our first President were those of *republican* *dignity* and *equality*, on his side a *well* that of *American citizens* of whatever party. Truth *never* prevailed and was fervently exposted in relation to such a character and career as his, but there was not *adulation*, and there could be but little *exaggeration* with so much *scope* for truth and patriotism.

His Remains—A celebrated Greek tragedian, who performed the part of *Electra*, brought into the theatre the urn containing the ashes of his own child, in order to be moved to the true agony of dramatic grief. This experiment was well adapted to our nature, whether in a *public* person, or in the mass and average of our species. The presence of the ashes of Washington in the Capitol

WASHINGTON.

may operate beneficially upon the politician, the *political actor*, even the party-orator or voter, in the Capitol. We must not undervalue the moral influences, however questionable may spring from what may be called physical mementos and associations. The philosophy of sentiment, whether applied to communities or individuals, is not to be derided as sentimentality; it is real, extensive, founded in instinct and reason, and of much efficaciousness when opportunely and skilfully managed.

Emotions of the kind to which we refer, may be thought to resemble a fire of straw, quickly kindled, soon spent; but they are more, in many minds; they soften the temperament; they warm the heart; they produce a genial glow; they propagate themselves; and thus contribute to the sound health and salutary energy of popular feeling.

Among the superstitions of the North of Europe, there is one which has always appeared to us not less politic than poetical. A principal public edifice,—a temple, or a hall of legislation—was made an imaginary cenotaph for some deceased public worthy—a great lawgiver, a patriotic warrior—a national bard or sage of virtuous renown:—it was dedicated to his shade, which was supposed thenceforward to make it a favourite dwelling or resort. The influences of the actual remains of the Father of his Country in our Capitol would be more direct and efficient—the memento would be nearer and stronger: no one conversant with human nature and concerns regards such ideas as wholly illusive. There is but physical locality at Mount Vernon—at Washington, as the seat of the general government, there is a higher and more impressive—the political and national.

F R A N K L I N.

REFINEMENT DISSOLUTION: CHARACTER.

Two teachers of philosophy have pointed out Washington and Franklin, as the perfect patterns of moral being, and of the member of civilized society. What the man and the citizen are in the abstractions of the most refined and fastidious theory, they are pronounced to have been in the sum of their existence; and this full glory is allotted to them by pre-eminence, if not exclusively, among the moderns. When the model of an *American* citizen,—which, indeed, may be said to include the general archetype,—has been specially sought, they have been indiscriminately designated; or if one seemed to be the most complete, Franklin has been pronounced to be that one, on account of the greater variety of functions in which it was his lot to be engaged. They are cited together as the two examples, such as no single age but their own has possessed, of public virtue, and practical wisdom, and comprehensive service: And, by the common judgment of the present times—which no protest whether of dulness or envy will suffice to invalidate—they are consigned together to the primary homage and imitation of posterity. The more that is disclosed of the history of Franklin, the more that his life and writings are scrutinized, the more that he is compared and weighed with his contemporaries, and all who had gone before, the more, we are convinced, will he be deemed worthy of the splendid association to which we have referred.

Towards the end of the year 1788, Franklin withdrew wholly from public life. His dreadful maladies had then reached almost the highest point of exacerbation. We may conjecture with what exemplary temper they were

borne, from the following passage of one of his letters of this date to a favourite niece. " You kindly inquire after my health. I have not of late much reason to boast of it. People that will live a long life, and drink to the bottom of the cup, must expect to meet with some of the dregs. However, when I consider how many terrible diseases the human body is liable to, I think myself well off that I have only three incurable ones, the gout, the stone, and old age. And those, notwithstanding, I enjoy many comfortable intervals, in which I forget all my ills, and amuse myself in reading or writing, or in conversation with friends, joking, laughing, and telling merry stories, as when you first knew me, a young man about fifty."

When he was no longer able to go abroad, the various societies of which he was president—the philosophical society—that for "*political inquiries*," one for "*alleviating the miseries of public prisons*," another "*for promoting the abolition of slavery*,"—held their respective meetings at his house, and had the benefit of his counsel and co-operation in all their proceedings. After his infirmities became so grievous as to confine him altogether to his bed, he received the visits of his friends as usual; he conversed with them, under a presentiment of his speedy dissolution, upon general subjects, as collectedly and gaily as Socrates,—whom he so much resembled in several principal lineaments of mind and character,—is related to have done in the interval between his condemnation and execution. Franklin found,—to employ his own language,—" many reasons to like living," even with his corporeal afflictions; and, yet, satisfaction enough in the contemplation of death. Thus, he wrote to one of his friends, " Death is as necessary to the constitution as sleep: we shall rise refreshed in the morning. The course of nature must soon put a period to my present mode of existence."

This I shall submit to with the less regret, as having seen, during a long life, a good deal of this world I feel a growing curiosity to become acquainted with some other—and can cheerfully, with filial confidence, resign my spirit to the conduct of that great and good Parent of mankind, who created it, and who has so graciously protected and prospered me from my birth to the present hour!"

This ~~decease~~ took place on the 17th April, 1790, in the eighty fourth year of his age, his mental faculties and his benevolent affections playing with unimpaired energy—shining out in full lustre—almost to the last moment. Several of his essays and printed letters bear date only a few weeks—some, indeed, only a few days—before the event, in these there is not an indication of the least decay of his powers either of thought or composition. We should be at loss to fix, among his work upon a finer specimen of his mimimable humour and logic a more glibtem and precious relic, than the pretended *African speech*, which he wrote and published towards the end of March of the same year.

It would be difficult to find, in the history of any octogenarian, evidence of more tender feeling and exquisit fancy than is contained in the ensuing extract from one of his latest epistles. "Your letter reminds me of many happy days we have passed together, and the dear friends with whom we passed them, some of whom, alas! have left us, and we must regret their loss, although our Hawkesworth is become an Adventurer in more happy regions, and our Stanley (the musician) is gone where only his own harmony can be exceeded. I hardly know which to admire most, the wonderful discoveries made by Herschel, or the indefatigable ingenuity by which he has been enabled to make them. Let us hope, my friend, that when free from these bodily embarrassments, we

may roam together through some of the systems he has explored, conducted by some of our old companions already acquainted with them. Hawkesworth will enliven our progress with his cheerful, sensible converse, and Stanley accompany the music of the spheres."

We regret that we have not room to quote the more authoritative opinions pronounced in the world of science, upon the merits of his labours and suggestions in natural philosophy. His countrymen will find, on this head, wherewithal to gratify their generous pride in his name, in—Priestley's History of Electricity, already mentioned, —the article on Franklin's works in the 16th No. of the Edinburgh Review, from the pen of Professor Playfair,—the elementary treatises of Haüy and Biot; the Elements of Chemical Philosophy of Sir Humphrey Davy, &c.—With such attestations as are extant, or, indeed, from a simple examination of what Franklin achieved, we could have no hesitation in repeating the common assertion, that, had the condition of his country allowed him to pursue without deflection his original bent, he would have proved the most widely successful of all inquirers into the mysteries of nature, and would now stand immovably foremost among the luminaries with whom he is classed in the temple of Fame.

From the same cause, want of room, we are unable to place his private character before our readers, as directly and circumstantially as was intended, and might seem desirable. This, however, is legible enough, even in its nicer shades, through his writings: And, doubtless, every American of liberal studies will make himself familiar with productions which embrace so curious a portion of the national history; which must, by universal assent, rank the first in the literature of the New World; which afford samples of all the approved styles in their

perfection, and the surest maxims of conduct for all stations in life; which, on the whole, for variety of excellence—for piquant originality, manifold instruction, subtle wit, and just expression—may be set in competition with the works of any European. -

The information respecting the personal qualities of the "uneducated American tradesman," which we have industriously collected from the mouths of several of his surviving and most impartial acquaintance, corroborates the inferences to which his writings lead. He is described on all hands, as having been a perfectly CONSISTENT REPUBLICAN; endowed with an extraordinary degree of civil courage; simple in his tastes and habits; unmoved by the pomps and punctilio^s of society; free of all affectation and arrogance; self-possessed and confident on every occasion; a firm believer in the power of reason, the reality of virtue, and the policy of rectitude. Tradition represents him, moreover, as warm and steady in his attachments; candid and placable in his resentments; invariably polite in his manners, and cheerful in his temper; tender in all his domestic relations: alert in discovering and patronizing merit in whatever sphere; fond of convivial meetings, which he could enliven with an excellent song, as well as with a sprightly anecdote and a pungent apologue; in general, rather disposed to listen than to talk, but communicative and explicit where this seemed to be wished; always intent upon some public good, and little ambitious of renown, except inasmuch as it might increase his ability of being useful to his country or to mankind. We may add to these traits, on the same testimony, that he was never known to forget an obligation received, however small, at any distance of time; to overlook an opportunity of requital; that, if he practised and inculcated in every station, the strictest

frugality, it was not from any narrowness of spirit, but evidently from a conviction, early imbibed, of the perniciousness of the opposite vice; that he met readily all proper expenses, and bestowed his money freely and largely, as he did his time, on public institutions, and in private charities; so as fully to confirm the declaration which we read in one of his first letters to his mother, "I would rather have it said of your son that *he lived usefully*, than that *he died rich*." We have heard no voice which did not sanction the passage of his letter of January 6th, 1784, to Mr. Jay, expressed with such engaging naïveté, and evident sincerity of belief—"I have, as you observe, some enemies in England; but they are my enemies as an *American*. I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a *minister*; but I thank God, there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a man; for, by his grace, through a long life I have been enabled so to conduct myself that there does not exist a human being who can justly say, Ben Franklin has wronged me."

The posthumous honours paid to this great benefactor of his country, and of the human race, were not unworthy of his claims. The procession at his interment was numerous and dignified beyond all example in America: Congress ordered a general mourning of one month throughout the states: Obsequies were solemnized in Paris, and funeral panegyrics delivered, under the direction of its municipality: The National Assembly of France, which then contained many of the most profound statesmen, and brilliant lights of the kingdom, decreed a mourning of three days, and addressed a letter of condolence to the American Congress, who transmitted a reply, declaring "their peculiar sensibility," to the tribute offered to their countryman. We select a part of this splendid

tribute, as historical evidence of the highest authenticity, and as an appropriate conclusion to our own heartfelt, though still imperfect commemoration.

“ The name of Benjamin Franklin will be immortal in the records of freedom and philosophy ; but it is more particularly dear to a country, where, led by a most sublime mission, this venerable man soon succeeded in acquiring an infinite number of friends and admirers, as well by the simplicity and suavity of his manners, as by the purity of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, and the charms of his discourse. It will be remembered that every advance which he made in his important negotiations was celebrated all over France, as a triumph of genius and virtue. We hope the citizens of the United States will learn with interest the funeral homage which we have rendered to the *NESTOR OF AMERICA.*”

THE END.

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